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NEWSPAPER

LBJ's 'Totalitarian' Housing Message

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Lyndon Johnson dropped his mask of benevolence recently. With his stunning message on "urban development," the face of a totalitarian master now lies nakedly exposed.

The proposed rent subsidies for middle income families are shocking enough in themselves, but this is the least part of the programs he would vest in his new Department of Housing and Urban Development. Mr. Johnson is proposing nothing less than to make over every town and city in the country according to predetermined racial, social and economic patterns. He would achieve these ends through the coercion of sweeping new grants and subsidies that would be dangled as "incentives" before the people. But the grants and subsidies would be awarded only as Lyndon says.

To understand this brazen grab for federal control of community life, it is necessary only that one read the President's message.

Mr. Johnson proposes new grants for sewer and water systems; these would be "contingent upon comprehensive, area-wide planning for future growth; and will be made only for projects consistent with such planning."

Mr. Johnson's program would finance whole satellite towns; but the grants would depend "upon the existence of area-wide planning for growth to which the aided developments must conform."

Mr. Johnson will "insist upon stricter enforcement of housing codes by communities receiving federal aid." Mr. Johnson will ask that every city of 50,000 or larger "develop a Community Renewal Program as a condition of federal help for urban renewal." Mr. Johnson proposes grants for neighborhood community centers, but these must be "consistent with an approved community action program."

Many other similar passages could be quoted. The President leaves no shadow of doubt that under his approach, cities receiving federal aid must submit to all the social directives of his new department. What does he have in mind?

The new satellite towns are intended "to break the pattern of central city ghettos." The rent subsidy "will permit us to encourage housing in which families of different incomes, and in different age groups can live together."

A new phase of the urban renewal program will enable cities to lease private homes in chosen neighborhoods and rent them as public housing. Urban renewal plans will be used in a new way "so that all our tools—from the poverty program, to education and construction—can be used together to create meaningful and livable communities within the city."

We must conceive of this program not as it now exists in its beginnings, but as Lyndon Johnson thinks of it: "A half century from now 320 million of our 400 million Americans will live in such areas." This means that more than half of our housing will be federally planned or financed; and what remains in private hands will be subject to the restrictions that the federal government has made the localities impose.

Now, it is true that our cities face prodigious problems, and many old categories of thinking and planning will have to be abandoned. But central planning from Washington means that mistakes are uniformly distributed too. By a strange twist, many of Mr. Johnson's proposals are to patch up some of the damage already done by pernicious federal intervention in housing problems: Urban sprawl encouraged by FHA mortgages; crime and economic segregation in federal housing; family dislocation and loss of local revenue through urban renewal. In 50 years, the population will be twice as big, and so will the problems. Decentralization is the common-sense answer to local problems.

But instead Mr. Johnson proposes to extend the federal hand to the whole population. And his new department would have satraps in every metropolitan area, watching the incomes of those who get the new rent subsidies, planning the ideal socio-economic mix for every neighborhood, and making sure that people understand the "incentives."

Under President Johnson's plan for "urban development," more than half the housing in cities such as New York (above) will be federally planned or financed.

The Myths about Federal Aid To Education—and the Facts

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The Appalachian Program: Biggest Boondoggle Yet

Referring to the program, President Johnson said, "The pork barrel is gone."

But it really is only beginning.

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Neighborhood School Policy Upheld by U.S. Supreme Court

From the Chicago *Tribune*

For the second time, the U. S. Supreme Court has refused to upset the neighborhood school policy, which has been under fire from civil rights groups in various cities. The contention of these groups has been that intermingling (integration) of the races in the schools is required regardless of the pupils' residence or the cost of operating the schools.

The latest case originated in Kansas City, Kans., where a group of Negro parents sued the school board, attacking the policy of pupil assignment based on neighborhoods. The U. S. Court of Appeals in Denver upheld the school board, finding that its system "has been conscientiously constructed with no intention or purpose to maintain or perpetuate segregation."

The court found that "there is no evidence of intentional gerrymandering of the school attendance districts, of the use of a dual school system, of the assignment of pupils according to racial factors, or of any of the other schemes and devices condemned in other cases before federal courts." The court added:

"The 14th Amendment prohibits segregation; it does not command integration of the races in the public schools and Negro children have no constitutional right to have white children attend school with them."

The U. S. Supreme Court refused to review this decision, and thus left it standing. Last May the high court refused to review a similar case involving a suit filed by 100 Negro pupils in Gary, Ind. The Gary suit asked the federal district court to order the schools to realign school districts for the purpose of mixing Negroes and whites.

District Judge George N. Beamer refused to issue the requested order, and he was upheld by the U. S. Court of Appeals in Chicago, which ruled: "There is no affirmative constitutional duty to change innocently arrived at school attendance districts by the mere fact that shifts in population either increase or decrease the percentage of either Negro or white pupils." The Court of Appeals quoted approvingly the following statement from the lower court:

"I have seen nothing in the many cases dealing with the segregation problem which leads me to believe that the law requires that a school system developed on the neighborhood school plan, honestly and conscientiously constructed with no intention or purpose to segregate the races, must be destroyed or abandoned because the resulting effect is to have a racial imbalance in certain schools . . ."

The Supreme Court has not yet ruled explicitly whether school officials may transfer pupils from their neighborhood school to a distant school for the purpose of ending *de facto* segregation. Last year the court refused to review a New York case in which school officials, in establishing the attendance zone for a new school, deliberately sought a racial balance with one-third Negro, one-third Puerto Rican and one-third white. The zoning did not require busing of children to the new school and the school was close to the geographical center of the attendance zone.

The question of transporting children long distances to achieve racial integration will remain in doubt until the Supreme Court rules explicitly, and more litigation on the subject therefore may be expected.

In view of the decisions which the court has allowed to stand, it does not seem likely that the court would approve any "integration" policy which barred children from going to school in their own neighborhood.

The new federal civil rights act says: "Nothing herein shall empower any official or court of the United States to issue any order seeking to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another or one school district to another." That appears conclusive if the court honors the intent of Congress.

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THE LATEST VICTIMS of deteriorating postal service appear to be none other than the National Association of Postal Supervisors. Some 3,100 copies of the *Postal Supervisor,* official publication of the group, were mailed October 8— and forthwith disappeared into a postal limbo. None of the copies has reached its destination. Editors of the publication were quoted as saying, "We don't know how almost one ton of magazines could get lost." They don't? —From the Richmond *News Leader*

☐ ☐ ☐

SELF-INSURED—The greatest security a person can have comes from within himself, not from the outside. Nothing anyone can do for you can begin to match what you can do for yourself.—Samuel Goldwyn

Gen. Thomas Power

Expert Now Can Testify To Decline in U.S. Power

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

In their campaign attacks on the man whom Barry Goldwater, with perhaps overstressed derisiveness, called "Yo Yo" McNamara, the Republicans were hampered by their inability to produce an impressive witness who was prepared to back up the charge that U.S. military power is on the downgrade. But as the critics of Secretary McNamara's defense policies gird for action in Congress, a truly qualified witness has suddenly become unmuzzled.

The man in question is Gen. Thomas S. Power, who has just retired as commander in chief of the Strategic Air Command. Back in April of 1959 Gen. Power wrote a book, *Design for Survival*, which complained that the regnant military planners were wrong in their program for "phasing out" the manned bomber in favor of complete reliance on missiles. Getting wind of the fact that the Air Force had cleared Gen. Power's manuscript for publication, the then secretary of defense, Neil McElroy, banned the book. This, be it noted in

Gen. Thomas S. Power has recently retired as chief of the Strategic Air Command. The Pentagon can no longer suppress his book.

all fairness, was not McNamara's doing. But the muzzle on Gen. Power was not removed by the Kennedy Administration.

Gen. Power did manage to speak out in generalities before Congress at one point when he attacked the "Maginot Line" thinking that threatened to put all our eggs in the single basket labeled "missiles." The Atlas, the Titan and the Minuteman missiles, he said, might be rendered harmless by a sneak attack, presumably by super-hydrogen bombs that would shatter the controls of American missiles in their so-called hardened sites.

Since Barry Goldwater is an Air Force general, he was probably fully acquainted with even the most detailed substance of the banned Power book. But he could not, of course, make any convincing campaign use of "inside" knowledge.

Now that he has been ungagged by retirement and placed beyond suspicion of campaign politics, Gen. Power is free to voice his worries in considerable fullness. His book is already circulating in congressional anterooms, although it won't officially be out until next week. It will certainly be picked up by critics of McNamara's policies, such as Republican Rep. Laird of Wisconsin, a member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee of the House.

What specifically bothers Gen. Power is the loss of flexibility that must result if the present phasing-out of our bombing planes continues. Within 10 years all our B-47s will have been retired; the remaining B-52s will be obsolete, and, as Gen. Power puts it, "the limited number of B-58s in SAC's inventory would be obsolescent at best." Thus, every day that a final decision for bomber replacement is postponed, the prospective "bomber gap" of the late 1960s and early 1970s is widened.

What frightens Gen. Power are several possibilities. One is that by the'70s the Soviets may have come up with methods of tracking down our Polaris submarines even when they lie deep in the sea far away from Russia. Another is that the Soviets may be on the verge of developing an effective anti-missile missile.

One aspect of the case for maintaining a mixed force of bombers, intercontinental ballistic missiles and Polaris submarines is that by forcing the Soviets to spread their defense experimentation thin it slows down their anti-missile progress. Another aspect is that bombers can operate throughout a range of high and low altitudes to confuse radar defenses. They could also aim "Hound Dog" missiles at enemy targets without ever going over enemy territory.

The most compelling reason of all for maintaining a manned bomber force, however, is that some part of it can be airborne for retaliatory purposes at all times, thus precluding complete success of an enemy missile attack on our hardened launching sites.

All of this has been said in the past by amateurs. Now it is about to be said in the open by the man who was chief of our Strategic Air Command for seven touch-and-go years.

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GO SOAK YOUR HEAD—"Recently a classified advertising insertion order was received by this newspaper from the . . . Department of Labor. At our prevailing rates, it would have represented about $7 worth of business. This advertisement, however, never appeared in this paper—and won't—because the federal government wants us to donate the space, free of charge . . . If the federal government can continue to add to its public payroll at the rate of 11,000 bureaucrats a month; if the federal government can call for 'national sacrifice' and then increase its favorite welfare spending schemes by almost 50 per cent; and if the federal government can give $2 million in foreign aid 'handouts' to the likes of Communist Yugoslavia, then the federal government can sure as hell pay $7 to put an advertisement in the Hillsborough *Messenger*—that is, if it's necessary to put the advertisement in at all—which is doubtful. As long as the bureaucrats and the do-gooders continue to dream up ways to get nothing for something and at the same time scheme to get something for nothing, this newspaper will continue to tell Washington to go soak its big, fat, bureaucratic, Socialistic head."—From the Hillsborough (N.H.) *Messenger*

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Congressmen, Mailmen Assail 'Wretched' U.S. Postal System

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

It is news when man bites dog and it is news when the nation's mailmen assail the Administration for a "wretched" postal system that is "growing worse every day."

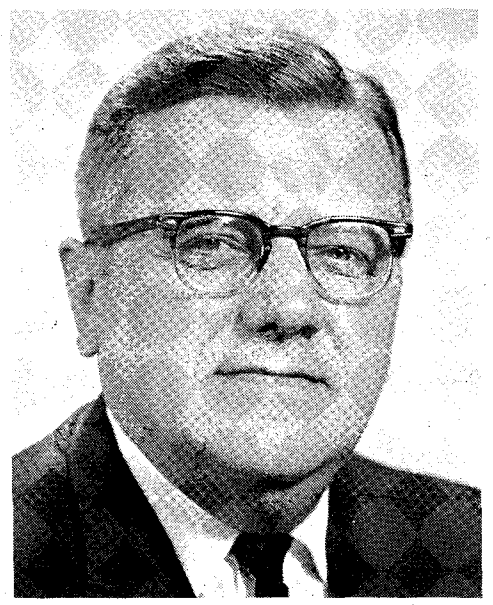
That is the stinging observation of the National Association of Letter Carriers, AFL-CIO. An editorial in the union's official organ, the *Postal Record*, terms ludicrous any talk of the "Great Society" when:

• "First class letters take a full week to travel from Washington to San Francisco and three days from Washington to New York;

• "The Post Office spends between $3 and $8 million a year just to rewrap parcels that have been damaged in the mails;

• "Packages hang around the post office for a half week awaiting delivery; and business firms hand-deliver their own mail because it is cheaper and faster that way."

The letter carriers say the nation's postal operation "stinks." During the last 15 years, the union says, Post Office officials have effected a 50 per cent reduction in deliveries, collections and parcel post service throughout the nation.



Postmaster General John Gronouski is accused of "trying to run the postal system by numerical and alphabetical gimmickery" by Rep. Cunningham.

A Nebraska congressman, Omaha's Glenn Cunningham, has called for a thorough probe of the "poor and deteriorating mail service" that is dispensed to U. S. citizens everywhere. The Republican lawmaker knows first hand the facts of postal life.

Cunningham recently purchased a painting from a constituent who has suffered from cerebral palsy since childhood. The work had taken three weeks to paint, a laborious process in which the crippled artist held the brush between the toes of her left foot.

The painting was framed and wrapped by a professional molding and framing firm in Omaha. Although wrapped with nine layers of heavy cardboard and marked "Handle With Care—Glass," the package had been smashed when it arrived at the congressman's office. The glass was shattered and across the package were parallel marks that Cunningham feels could be caused only by a vehicle running over it.

In recent weeks, Rep. Cunningham has received several score letters indicating displeasure with the Post Office operations.

A farmer outside Omaha received a steel toolbox through the mails. It was badly battered, with inch-deep indentations running its length.

"The box is made of heavy enough gauge steel so that it would take a very hard blow from a hammer even to dent it," he wrote his congressman. "Also, one end was caved in."

An Omaha couple complained that "we never seem to receive a package anymore but that it is damaged, broken, smashed and paper torn." A local businessman reported that packages mailed by his firm were badly mutilated in the mails.

"If things do not improve," he wrote, "I earnestly believe my business could be seriously hurt by lack of customers."

Rep. Glenn Cunningham (R.-Neb.) displays smashed glass of picture which was wrapped in nine layers of cardboard, but didn't make it through the U.S. mails intact. Arrow points to tire track over one corner of box in which picture was sent.

A housewife revealed that she sent a fruit cake to a friend in Ohio. The package never arrived. Nor was it returned, although the return address was plainly printed on the package. "I always wonder who ate the cake," she wrote the congressman. The same woman last month shipped an FM radio ("very well packaged") to Oregon. It was received in shambles.

Rep. Cunningham, ranking Republican on the House Postal Operations Subcommittee, hopes to probe the policies of Postmaster General John Gronouski and other department officials.

The Nebraska lawmaker does not believe the rank-and-file postal employes are to blame for the deteriorating service.

"In fact," he says, "they are more upset than anyone else simply because they get blamed for a situation over which they have no control."

Rep. Cunningham blames Gronouski for "management innovations" that are largely responsible for the disappointing service of his department.

"He's trying to run the postal system by numerical and alphabetical gimmickery," Cunningham says.

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Bobby Baker Probe

Justice Dept. Report Does Not Disprove Reynolds

From the Washington *Evening Star*

The Democrats who control the Senate Rules Committee have pounced upon the Department of Justice report attacking Don Reynolds with an alacrity which stands in notable contrast to their massive reluctance to really investigate the Reynolds charges.

The Democrats are happy because the report, based on an FBI inquiry, tends to get them off the hook. They can point to it and say: See! We've been trying to tell you all along that this fellow Reynolds is no good.

Well, it isn't quite so simple. Reynolds testified under oath in closed session Dec. 1, 1964, in connection with the so-called investigation of the Bobby Baker case. He has repeatedly stated his willingness to testify publicly and still under oath. But the committee has not been willing to call him and has refused to release the transcript of his December 1 testimony.

The Justice Department report tends to discredit some of the things which Reynolds is supposed to have said. But in the absence of access to his testimony, it is impossible to know how diligently the FBI went into this politically sensitive matter. And it is also very difficult, not having the text of the FBI findings, to evaluate the fairness or the fullness of the Justice Department report based on those findings.

It is clear, however, that the statements obtained by the FBI were not taken under oath. And few if any of the people to whom the FBI agents talked were ever called before the committee to testify under oath and to subject themselves to cross-examination. Why not? This is at least a suspicious circumstance.

And it encourages us to think that Sen. Williams (R.-Del.), is right in saying that the department's report and the eagerness with which the Democrats have seized upon it "are a continuation of what for months has been an organized attempt to discredit Mr. Reynolds rather than an effort to establish the truth."

The Democratic majority on the committee says it is "obvious beyond a doubt" that the Reynolds testimony "is unworthy of belief." This isn't at all obvious to us. On the contrary, had it not been for Reynolds and Sen. Williams, this investigation, as far as the Democrats are concerned, would have been a total whitewash.

It was Reynolds who proved that he, a Maryland insurance broker, had paid for the hi-fi set which Bobby Baker gave to Lyndon B. Johnson. It was Reynolds who produced the documentary evidence which proved that he bought worthless advertising time on the LBJ network in Texas after writing a life insurance policy on the then majority leader.

He said he was pressured to do this by Walter Jenkins, a topflight Johnson aide. Jenkins, in a statement to committee investigators, denied knowing anything about the arrangements for this advertising purchase. The committee never managed to hear Jenkins as a witness, but he eventually had to answer written questions, and these answers showed that he knew quite a bit about the arrangements.

Finally, it was Reynolds who told Sen. Williams about the "kickback" on the D.C. Stadium bond which he wrote for the contractor, Democratic bigwig Matt McCloskey. The Democrats could not have cared less, and Reynolds couldn't prove his charge at the outset. But Sen. Williams finally came up with a canceled check which showed that an excessive premium had indeed been paid on the bond. McCloskey then said it was just a "goof." Some goof!

On the basis of these points alone, we do not accept the Democratic verdict on the Reynolds testimony. Certainly, with regard to some of his allegations the evidence that he was telling the truth is conclusive. And in view of this we are far from ready to think that he was lying about everything else.

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DID YOU NOTICE?— President Johnson is annoyed that top liberal congressional leaders have not come to his support in ordering retaliatory raids on North Viet Nam." Maybe the liberals are too red-faced as they recall the scathing attacks they made on Barry Goldwater when he called for a policy of getting tough with the Communists. Leader of the "Great Society" one day, warmonger the next.—From the Indianapolis *Star*

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• Rodman Rockefeller, Nelson's son, is confirming Albany rumors that his father has made a deal with New York Democrats so the Democrats will push through Rocky's "Great Society" program in New York. Rocky, according to Rodman, has paid off Mayor Wagner by blocking, temporarily, any Republican (such as Sen. Jacob Javits or Rep. John Lindsay) from announcing his candidacy against the mayor and putting pressure on Republicans in the state legislature to help elect a pro-Wagner Democrat as leader of the lower house.

ROCKY

• *President Johnson jolted some of those conservative-minded businessmen who think he's tight with a federal dollar when he spoke to representatives of the National Education Association at the White House last week. Pleading for his education bill, the President noted that some people are complaining that the $1.3 billion figure for the measure will be higher next year. "Well, it will be," LBJ arrogantly answered amid applause.*

• The Senate Rules Committee has closed its investigation into l'affaire Bobby Baker and the Democratic majority is expected to shortly issue a final report white-washing high Administration officials (including the President). Frustrated Republican members of the committee have voiced no objections to the probe's end. Explains Sen. Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.): "Under the circumstances, for the investigation to go on would be a waste of the taxpayers' money because they are not investigating, they are trying to discredit the people who have come in and testified against the wrongdoers."

CURTIS

• *Richard Goodwin, former top Kennedy aide and now a chief speech writer and White House aide for President Johnson, is said to be the person responsible for inserting into the President's speeches the statement that labor leaders "in touch" with LBJ favor increased trade with the Soviets and their satellites. Top labor officials say they haven't been consulted at all, pointing out that the AFL-CIO officially opposed any such trade at its annual convention in March. A number of labor leaders believe LBJ and Goodwin must be taking their cues from Walter and Victor Reuther.*

• Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D.-Ark.), who has been given the green light by the Administration to push for further U.S.-U.S.S.R. trade, says he's still for trade and aid even though he realizes such items as wheat can be as "strategic" as oil and weapons producing machinery. Before the Foreign Relations Committee on February 24, Fulbright said he finds it hard to distinguish between strategic and non-strategic goods. "If we sell them [the Soviets] wheat," he said, "it enables them to divert their energies into . . . a highly strategic material."

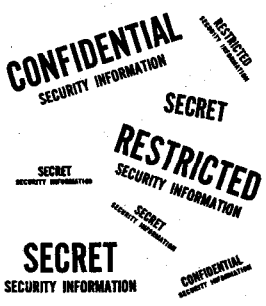
FULBRIGHT

• *Seven New York leftists were last week arrested and charged with contempt of court in connection with a grand jury investigation into the race riots that last summer rocked Harlem. The contempt citations charge that the defendants refused to answer questions about conversations they reportedly held with Milton Rosen, national chairman of the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Movement. According to Assistant District Attorney Joseph A. Phillips, the defendants last July discussed strategy for instigation of further riots.*

This Week in Washington

A New Security Scandal?

The case of Otto Otepka, the security expert fired by the State Department, has still not been resolved as he awaits Department hearings. But insiders in Washington last week focused attention on what they believe is a new security expose brewing within the Administration.



The story behind this potential scandal dates back to March 1964 and was first bared by the American Security Council's special *Washington Report*. That report detailed the story of how several associates of Otepka, now dubbed "the Otepka men" for supporting him against the department's charges, were reassigned from the State Department's Office of Security to the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs in mid-March 1964.

At first blush, this transfer seemed an obvious attempt to demote the Otepka-ites and a number of them complained to the Civil Service Commission. But the department assured these men they were to be put on a highly sensitive assignment. The job, as outlined by John Drew of the department's Office of Personnel, was to come up with information regarding some 40 Latin Americans working for international agencies in Washington.

These employes were suspected of being Communist agents and many currently hold key positions with the Organization of American States, the Pan American Union, Pan American Health Organization and other agencies.

Reports of Communist infiltration of these organizations were known to the State Department as far back as 1952, but no thorough investigation had ever been made. Then, in 1961, the case assumed new and startling importance.

A President of a Latin American country warned President Kennedy that this infiltration was very serious and that he should give it top priority. JFK turned the matter over to the State Department which in turn handed it over to the Office of Security. In 1964, with Otepka having been fired, the Otepka men were assigned to the task at the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs.

While it is not generally known, of the six Otepka men assigned to ferret out the Communists, the State Department has now taken four of them off the job: Raymond Loughton has been given an overseas assignment. Frank Gardner has dropped from the case. The department has ordered John Norpel to El Paso, Tex. and Howard J. Shea to Denver, Colo. Both are to be gone from their Washington offices by April 1. Only Harry M. Hite and Edwin A. Burkhardt remain.

Moreover, the evidence is that the State Department sabotaged the investigation from the moment it put the Otepka men in charge. For one thing, these investigators were barred from obtaining essential material which could corroborate existing data on the suspected subversives. The State Department would not forward certain security files considered essential for determining the background of suspects.

The Otepka men were also limited to record checks and were not permitted to develop new information on their own initiative. Contrary to the job description, the investigators were not allowed direct contact with the CIA.

Moreover, these men feel they shouldn't have been assigned to this job in the first place because these cases required a political decision at a higher level than the Security Office, which is not equipped to conduct full field investigations of foreign nationals in countries of their origin.

If the State Department was out to sabotage the investigation, why did it assign these probers to the job? According to one security official, top State Department personnel hoped to clear their own skirts by saying they assigned Otepka men to the case but even these "hard-liners" in security couldn't develop anything.

At any rate, four years after strong warnings about Red infiltration in important international agencies in Washington the problem remains.

A suggestion is made that a committee of intelligence experts, drawn from the FBI, the Department, the Pentagon, the CIA and the like, be established to weed out the subversives. But so far the Administration appears willing to drop the entire matter.

GOP Education Bill

House Republicans last week uncovered their own education proposal and it was a fresh breeze of anti-Socialist air compared to the one now being advocated by the Administration.

Under the essential terms of the proposal, aid would come in the form of tax credits to families sending their children to school. The Democrats were so outraged at the common sense attitude of the bill that they called it "warmed over Goldwater."

The GOP proposal would permit a taxpayer to subtract from his federal income tax part of what he pays in local and school taxes. He would be allowed a credit of one half of his school taxes up to a maximum of $100 or he could take credit of $50 for each dependent child in his family up to a maximum of $200.

Persons who rent, such as apartment dwellers, would be allowed a proportionate credit for taxes paid as part of rent. The Republican proposal also provides credits against federal income taxes for college expenses up to $325 a student. In recognition of the Democratic majority, the Republicans would also allow the federal government to give cash payments to those who do not make enough money to pay a federal income tax.

While this touch of federal intervention was allowed, it was still a far cry from the $1.3 billion boondoggle advocated by the Democrats.

Moreover, the majority on the Committee on Education and Labor last week released its report on the Administration's aid to primary and secondary schools and contained in the 79-page document is ample evidence that the Johnson bill is a first step toward federally controlled education.

The GOP minority report points out that the government will be engaged in supplying school texts and constructing a federally dominated school system in local communities without the permission of the states. In addition, the minority report reveals the extraordinary progress the states and localities have made in providing educational facilities. (For more on this subject see Ralph de Toledano's column on page 9.)

Williams Knocks Justice Dept.

Delaware's super-sleuth, Sen. John Williams (R.), who cracked open the Bobby Baker caper, is again concerned about serious hanky-panky in high places and is criticizing the Department of Justice for its laxness in searching out law breakers.

Sen. Williams recently placed in the *Congressional Record* information that the Justice Department is dragging its heels on investigating charges that government officials violated the Hatch Act last year when they coerced employes of the Rural Electrification Administration to chip in $100 apiece to the 1964 Democratic fund-raising gala in Washington.

Williams points out that on May 26, 1964, the Senate unanimously adopted Senate Resolution 332, sponsored by Williams and Frank Carlson (R.-Kans.), to get the attorney general to look into this matter. The Senate resolution requested the attorney general "to investigate the alleged solicitation of career employes by either political party to purchase tickets

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to political fund-raising dinners" and discover (1) if any violation of law occurred and (2) to recommend additional measures to prevent coercion in the future. The resolution also requested the attorney general to report to the senators in 60 days.

Says Williams: "It has not been 60 days but 6 months, since this resolution was adopted, and we are still waiting for a report from the attorney general's office as to what he has found as a result of the investigation which we instructed him to conduct.

"Perhaps the attorney general can find time to tell us what the FBI found when these charges were investigated—that is, if they were investigated."

• Williams also put in the *Record* information indicating that Post Office Department officials in Washington last fall helped direct a nationwide fund-raising affair for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket among postmasters, post office employes and rural mail carriers. FBI probers have visited Democratic National Committee treasurer Richard Maguire in this connection.

'Doves' in the Peace Corps

How goes the Peace Corps? More than 850 returning "veterans" had a three-day conference at the State Department last week, the first such gathering of ex-volunteers. The subject of the conclave was "the readjustment of the returned volunteer to American life." Top government officials attending the conference helped smooth out the "readjustment period" in the following manner:

During the first session on Friday, Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver arranged to let Corpsman George Johnson, now enrolled at Yale Law School, say a few words to the conference about why the United States should halt its military effort in Viet Nam. Johnson had served his Peace Corps years in Tanganyika.

Johnson, who furnished reporters a copy of his remarks, also said in his speech: "It is clear that not all the obstacles to a peaceful world are in the Communist bloc. Some are ideas and attitudes held by America."

The newly returned corpsman said that Shriver knew what the tenor of his remarks would be in advance, but wanted him to speak anyway. "The top brass wanted me to liven things up," said Johnson. Harris Wofford, a bigwig in the Peace Corps, described Johnson as a "red hot," but said he had a right to express his views.

At the end of the first evening, Shriver decided the session should close out on a song. Says a conference participant, "I expected the 'Star Spangled Banner,' 'My Country 'Tis of Thee' or something appropriate. Instead, Harry Belafonte ended the meeting by leading the 850 corpsmen in a rousing rendition of 'We Shall Overcome,' the theme song of the civil rights militants! What civil rights has to do with the Peace Corps, I don't know."

The volunteers were described by other observers as "readjusting" in full swing by Saturday. Petitions concerning apartheid in South Africa, Negro voting rights and American involvement in South Viet Nam began circulating both in and out of the State Department. Large posters advocating negotiations on Viet Nam were also prominently displayed.

The materials, says one petition circulater, came from the Peace Corps and the petitions were run off on a State Department mimeograph machine. A Peace Corps bigshot says all these activities were initially approved by the Peace Corps and the State Department.

One petition reportedly run off on State Department machinery read:

"As returned Peace Corps volunteers, we are concerned about the United States involvement in the war in Viet Nam. We question the policy of escalation and its attendant risk of nuclear war. Our experience has shown us that a military solution is no solution—that self determination is our proper goal. We affirm that negotiation is not surrender, but the only basis for a democratic solution. Responsible American engagement in Viet Nam must be other than a military one. We ask an end to hostility and a start for peace."

Staffing a petition table in the State Department cafeteria, George Johnson, the "red hot" from Yale, said he obtained 100 signatures for the petition in a few hours on Sunday morning.

Fulbright's Trial Balloon

Diplomatic Row is wondering whether Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) lofted another trial balloon last week with his remarks that the United States should team up with the Soviets in playing Santa Claus to the underdeveloped nations and participate with the Communists in other joint ventures.

Time has clearly documented the fact that Soviet aid and trade programs are designed to subvert anti-Communist and neutral nations. But the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a close friend of President Johnson's, said that we are coming "to discover that all Soviet aid programs are not detrimental to our interests, that some, indeed, may advance objectives that we ourselves favor."

Continuing in his euphoric state, but declining to mention just what Soviet aid programs America favors, Fulbright asked: "Why then could not the United States propose to the Soviet Union that the two countries cooperate, under the auspices of an international agency, in a particular development project that both favor, in India or another country? . . . it seems to me that a . . . considerable gain for world peace could be achieved by a joint Soviet-American venture or, better still, by a joint venture involving several Communist countries and several Western countries."

Republicans have not reacted enthusiastically to this "kook" proposal.

Minority Leader Sen. Everett Dirksen, his words dripping with sarcasm, responded by feigning regret that Fulbright hadn't offered his bill of fare in 1961 so that the United States could have joined with Russia in building such projects as the Berlin Wall.

But Fulbright's schemes are believed to have strong State Department endorsement. Of particular interest was the Arkansas senator's plan for internationalizing the Panama Canal or its successor with "Soviet participation."

Participation in an international canal company, Fulbright declared, "could be an extremely useful experience in international responsibility for the Soviet Union . . ." A New York *Times* front-page story (February 6) reported sentiment in the government for just such Soviet participation and at the time it was believed this story was a trial balloon (see *Human Events*, February 20). With Fulbright pushing the idea, many here feel such a plan is definitely under Administration consideration.

USIA Propaganda

Ten of the 12 Republican members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee last week voiced strong objections to the distribution in this country of a United States Information Agency film glorifying John Kennedy.

Only Bradford Morse of Massachusetts and James Fulton of Pennsylvania, both vociferous liberals, dissented from the GOP position.

The Republican resolution declared:

"To use in this country a film ["John F. Kennedy—Years of Lightning, Day of Drums"] made for propaganda overseas would set a most undesirable pattern. USIA has always recognized as the intent of Congress—though there is no express statutory prohibition—that this government agency should not propagandize the American people. To allow this would mean that taxpayers were subsidizing programs designed to shape their judgment."

Republicans on the Foreign Affairs Committee say the resolution permitting distribution of the Kennedy film in this country was rammed through committee without opportunity for amendment and that members who sought recognition to oppose passage were ridiculed.

CAPITOL CAMERA

• House and Senate GOP leaders have proposed the United States reject any economic or political agreements with Communist-bloc nations as long as the Reds engage in subversion or aggression anywhere in the world. Senate Republican Leader Everett Dirksen charged that State Department officials did nothing but "give in, give in, give in," when dealing with the Soviets.

DIRKSEN

• *Rep. Otto Passman (D.-La.) recently reported that American foreign aid policies had created 30 millionaires in Laos in 90 days. One U.S. dollar, according to testimony in Congress, would purchase 330 Laotian kip, but the official rate was fixed at 80-to-1. The American government converted at the official rate, allowing the Laotian officials to make a profit of 250 kip on every dollar.*

• Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) has charged the Administration's $1.1-billion program of Appalachian aid is just "another campaign slush fund to keep the unfortunate people of that region in political bondage to the Democratic party." No one in Congress, the Hoosier lawmaker says, has the "courage to stand up and tell the truth, namely, that three generations of Appalachian families have been on relief because the coal industry in this region is dead, and no amount of talk and money from Washington, D.C., is going to change it."

ROUDEBUSH

• *The General Board of the National Council of Churches met March 1 in Portland, Ore., and urged the Administration to negotiate a cease fire in Viet Nam. The board declared that such a settlement "will attempt to achieve the independence, freedom and self-determination of the people of South Viet Nam." The council declaration received front-page treatment in the Communist* People's World *on March 6 (headline: NOTABLES DECLARE LBJ VIET POLICY IS SUICIDAL).*

• Sen. Allen J. Ellender (D.-La.) has termed "unconscionable" President Johnson's proposal for direct rent subsidies to the needy (including those with annual incomes of $10,000). If the proposal is ever written in law, Ellender said, "we will be pushed even deeper on the uncharted seas of deficit spending in search of the promised land, or, to use the current expression, the 'Great Society.'"

ELLENDER

• *Illinois Circuit Judge Charles S. Dougherty has overruled a $1,000 fine imposed by the Illinois Fair Employment Practices Commission on Motorola, Inc. (See* Human Events *Dec. 5, 1964). Judge Dougherty ruled the commission had exceeded the authority given it in 1961 by the legislature in fining the company for its refusal to hire a Negro the firm said failed a placement examination. The judge said "there is no direct evidence in the record that [the applicant] was discriminated against by Motorola."*

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See page 11

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Constitutional Amendment Offered

Counties Affected by Apportionment Decision

From the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

Those who predicted that the Supreme Court's decision of June 15, 1964, would have far-reaching implications were guilty of, if anything, understatement. This was the ruling in which the court held that no state had the constitutional authority to apportion one house of its legislature on a basis other than population. The concept is popularly known as "one man, one vote," the implication being that each state lawmaker should speak for roughly the same number of people as any other.

The immediate result of the court's ruling was a flurry of activity among the various state legislatures, accompanied by a flurry of congressional activity to amend the Constitution to avert what otherwise might be a revolution in traditional legislative concepts.

Now, apparently, there is to be a new level of flurry.

For the Wisconsin supreme court has undertaken to apply the one-man, one-vote principle to the counties within its jurisdiction.

The specific case arose in connection with a 116-year-old Wisconsin statute that provides representation for each town, village and city ward in Wisconsin's County Board of Supervisors—regardless of population. The Wisconsin court's position was that, inasmuch as the county board possesses legislative powers of sorts, they should be equally representative of the people of the counties they serve.

The Wisconsin jurists apparently ignored a somewhat similar case that arose in Michigan. In that instance, a federal court held that "neither the 14th Amendment nor Article IV of the Constitution of the United States has so far been interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States to require the apportionment of local legislative bodies in a state in accordance with population."

Similar cases, we may be certain, will be arising elsewhere. Indeed, they already have.

The ripple of June 15, 1964, consequently is rapidly becoming a tidal wave that threatens eventually to touch every representative body in the nation. The tide, of course, could be reversed by prompt attention to the constitutional amendment offered by Ohio's Rep. William M. McCulloch. Rep. McCulloch's goal is to permit the perpetuation of the principle that had always existed in America prior to the Supreme Court's ruling of last June—that factors other than population may serve as the basis of legislative representation.

□ □ □

CHALLENGE TO A TEST—Funny thought—how about dividing up the United States and letting the free enterprisers have one portion and the welfare staters have the other, with each free to have the kind of government preferred. Within no time at all, you would have the same situation which exists in Germany—the free enterprise side booming and the welfare staters all too busy trying to rob each other through the predation of "social gains" to have time to produce any wealth. Want to risk the test, you liberals?
—From the Topeka (Kans.) *Free Lance*

□ □ □

"THERE IS SO MUCH illness in Washington that Administration people say they have 'executive flu' when sick, while congressmen call their colds 'legislative flu.' One critic says if the flu hits the Supreme Court he'll call it 'justice.' "—Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.)

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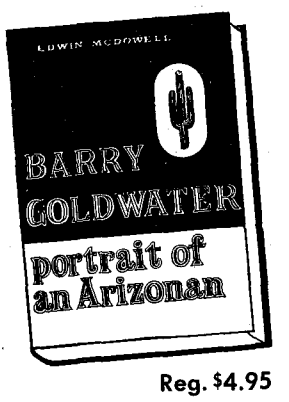

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BARRY GOLDWATER—*Portrait of an Arizonan*

By Edwin McDowell

Based on facts gleaned from personal papers of the Goldwater family, from rare history books, from old-time newspaper accounts, and from extensive conversations with Goldwater and with those who knew him since childhood, the book explains the presidential candidate in the perspective of his Arizona upbringing. More lucidly than any other published account, it explains how a businessman from one of our smaller states has become the acknowledged spokesman for a grass roots cause.

There are rare insights, personal reminiscences, and intimate glimpses of Goldwater. Included also are accounts of Goldwater's treatment by the Communist party, his public and private views on the Negro question, and his relationship with organized labor.

About Edwin McDowell: An editorial writer for the Arizona **Republic**, the state's largest newspaper, McDowell has undertaken wide-ranging special assignments. He has contributed articles to **National Review**, the New York **Times Book Review**, **Human Events**, the **New Leader** and other publications.

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GOP Fight Shaping Up Over Yerger; Goodwin Behind Weak Report on Cuba

From the Allen-Scott Report

The recent hard-wrought harmony among top Republican leaders is threatened by a new outbreak of the deep-smoldering differences between Goldwater and "Eastern establishment" forces.

Cause of this latest potentially disruptive clash is a high-powered drive to install Mississippi State Chairman Wirt Yerger as head of the Republican State Chairmen Advisory Committee when incumbent Ohio Chairman Ray Bliss becomes national chairman in April.

Strenuously opposing this backstage move is the Northeastern Republican State Chairmen's Conference. Their

Michigan Gov. George Romney (above) does not want Mississippi GOP Chairman Wirt Yerger made head of the Republican state chairmen advisory committee.

choice is Pennsylvania Chairman Craig Truax, close to Gov. Scranton, who is already a prominent 1968 presidential prospect.

Also emphatically against Yerger are Midwestern leaders, foremost among them Gov. Romney, another virtually certain presidential aspirant.

The Michiganer and his state chairman, Arthur Elliott, have indicated no preference yet for the prize sought by Yerger. So far, they are concentrating on blocking the bustling Mississippian and working hard at it.

Spearheading the Yerger campaign is Nevada State Chairman Jack Shaw, vigorously supported by the Southern Republican State Chairmen's Conference.

They maintain that with Bliss, a Midwesterner, taking over the national chairmanship, the "South and West," as personified by Yerger, should replace him as head of the State Chairmen Advisory Committee. They argue this would be only fair, particularly as the GOP carried only five Southern states and Arizona in 1964.

Yerger's foes are using this very argument against him.

They contend he represents a "too narrow factional base" to hold a forefront party office. As clinching proof, they cite last year's disastrous election results. Also the increasing aggressiveness of Negro efforts to expand their voting strength throughout the country.

The Northeastern Republican State Chairmen's Conference decided to fight Yerger's selection at an unpublicized meeting at the Union League Club in New York City recently.

New Jersey Chairman Webster Todd, head of the conference, presided. Ten of the 12 member chairmen were present. Maine Chairman Roger Putnam and Maryland Chairman Newton Steers were absent due to previous commitments. Also on hand was New Jersey State Sen. Wayne Dumont, one-time gubernatorial candidate who is planning to run again next year.

After extended discussion, the Northeastern chairmen formally decided on the following:

• To oppose Yerger as head of the State Chairmen Advisory Committee "under any and all circumstances." Sentiment on this was unanimous.

• Request incoming National Chairman Ray Bliss to name Pennsylvania Chairman Craig Truax as his successor as head of the advisory committee. The vote on this was split.

• In the event Bliss declines to designate Truax, to demand that the chairman of the advisory committee be selected by a vote of all the state chairmen instead of by appointment. The agreement on this was unanimous.

The decision to back Truax was strongly supported by Todd, Delaware Chairman Clayton Harrison, Massachusetts Chairman Frederick Dumaine, New Hampshire Chairman William King, Rhode Island Chairman John Conley.

Objection to Truax centered chiefly on his close alliance with Gov. Scranton. The dissenters argued this would bar his gaining support of chairmen in other sections of the country, notably in the Middle West with the largest regional conference. It was contended they would fear Truax's selection would reopen the smoldering East-West factional feuding.

Truax vehemently denied he is committed to Scranton's presidential ambitions; declared he is prepared to state that publicly.

In the end, the Northeastern chairmen agreed to meet again in Boston, on March 11.

They also agreed to ask incoming National Chairman Ray Bliss to come to the session. Most of them doubt that he will.

The Ohioan finds himself squarely in the middle in the clash over Yerger. As he wryly remarked to an intimate, "I'll be damned if I do, and damned if I don't."

Former National Chairman William Miller named Bliss as head of the advisory committee when it was created in 1962. With that as a precedent, it's up to Bliss to name his successor.

But with a bitter factional fight threatening, he may decide to pass the buck to the state chairmen and let them select their own head.

* * *

President Johnson is preparing to issue a policy statement on Communist-ruled Cuba.

On the basis of the tentative pronouncement pending before the President, its apparent purpose is to denounce Castro's Red dictatorship but not the "Cuban revolution." A definite distinction is drawn between them.

The statement also will proclaim firm intention to continue the economic embargo that has been in effect since the 1962 missile crisis.

But there will be no cheer for Cuban exiles who have long urged removal of the ban against armed attacks from the U.S. mainland, and the establishment of a government-in-exile. These much-sought objectives will be cold-shouldered.

In enunciating these views, the President will be publicly espousing those advocated by Richard Goodwin, prin-

Richard Goodwin, Johnson speechwriter during the campaign, is now a White House aide.

cipal author of the forthcoming policy declaration.

Since the early days of the Kennedy Administration, the 32-year-old Harvard graduate and law clerk of the late Justice Felix Frankfurter has favored some kind of "accommodation" with the Castro regime. In the summer of 1961 South American newsmen disclosed that Goodwin had met secretly in Montevideo, Uruguay, with Ernesto "Che" Guevara, top Castro lieutenant and his economic czar.

Subsequently Goodwin was shifted from Kennedy's staff as "Latin American adviser" to a vaguely defined job as assistant to Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver.

Goodwin bounced back into the good graces of the White House soon after Johnson became President. In last year's campaign Goodwin was one of the President's main speech writers. Recently it was announced Goodwin had been named a regular member of the White House staff with the title of special assistant to the President.

In this role he functions chiefly as speech writer and "adviser on Latin America."

In inner Administration councils Goodwin is credited as contending that the United States "can live with the Cuban revolution" and should seek through discreet proffers of economic aid and trade to woo it from Russian subservience.

His favorite argument is that the United States should make available to Castro a "better route to economic viability" in exchange for less dependence on the Soviet.

Goodwin's stand is vigorously challenged by Administration and congressional critics on the ground that if it is U.S. policy, as repeatedly asserted by the President, to fight for the freedom of the people of South Viet Nam thousands of miles away, why doesn't the same hold true for the people of Cuba—only 90 miles from U.S. shores?

They also brand the so-called "economic embargo" as a sham; in effect, a paper barrier.

As evidence they cite these irrefutable facts:

• Central Intelligency Agency estimates that since the missile crisis, more than 5,000 Soviet bloc vessels, carrying a wide range of freight and passengers, have docked in Cuba.

• A steadily mounting volume of trade with Western countries is now largely responsible for keeping Cuba economically afloat. But for the heavy flow of food, cattle, poultry, oil, machinery, spare parts, motor and other transportation equipment, textiles, medical and veterinary supplies from NATO allies, most of them heavy beneficiaries of billions of U.S. aid, the Castro regime would be in direst political and economic straits.

Under the economic embargo U.S. trade with Cuba has been wiped out. Though the United States was once its principal supplier, now only contraband gets through. But the rest of the world, notably Western nations, are trading eagerly with the Red dictatorship in Cuba.

Last year Congress, over strenuous Administration opposition, wrote a provision into the foreign aid bill barring economic and military assistance to countries trading with Cuba. The total effect of this restriction was nil.

Taking advantage of a loophole, which permitted waiving the ban when deemed "in the national interest," President Johnson invoked it for what amounted to wholesale exclusions. No major beneficiary of U.S. aid was hit. Only five were penalized, and they already were getting little or no aid—Britain, France, Yugoslavia, Morocco and Spain.

* * *

If anything should happen to acting Senate Republican leader Everett Dirksen (Ill.), at least four active candidates already are in the field to succeed him—Republican Whip Thomas Kuchel, Calif.; Campaign Committee Chairman Thruston Morton, Ky.; Sen. Bourke Hickenlooper, Ia., senior GOP member of the Foreign Relations Committee; and Sen. Roman Hruska, Neb.

* * *

Goldwater intimates are saying he has a definite understanding with new National Chairman Ray Bliss that there will be no wholesale axing of Goldwater appointees on the committee staff.

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FORGOTTEN HARRY TRUMAN story that has been revived on Capitol Hill: Truman was holding a press conference when a reporter asked him about a statement made "by a member of the Senate." Truman asked who made it and was told it was Hubert Humphrey. 'O, odd Hubie the hump, the windbag from Minnesota," Truman cracked. "Nothing to it!"—By Walter Trohan in the Chicago *Tribune*

□ □ □

"DEFICIT SPENDING is like burning the planks of your life raft to keep warm."—Arnold Glasow

□ □ □

"WE MUST BEWARE of trying to build a society in which nobody counts for anything, except the politician or an official, a society where enterprise gains no reward and thrift no privileges."—Winston S. Churchill in a radio broadcast, March 27, 1963

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Accommodations in Syracuse

Second Post Office Remodeled For Senator Robert Kennedy

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Goodby to the boys in Syracuse. Bobby Kennedy has pried a free ride in the post office there, too. Oh, *mama mia*!

This column recently detailed Mr. Kennedy's toot-toot aboard a gravy train in New York's Grand Central Post Office. (*Human Events*, February 27). Not one word about his costly ($200,000) lulu, mind you, until the public was informed. Then explanations—and denials—came winging from Mr. Kennedy and his aides like startled pigeons on the post office itself. Hokus-hokey-hokum.

Post office regulations state that "limited office accommodations be made available when convenient" to the state's two U.S. senators visiting New York. Modest layouts have been set aside on the fifth floor for years. But what do regulations mean to Bobby Kennedy? He pried himself into something totally different.

Politicians so habitually make unreliable statements themselves that many somehow come to assume everybody lives like that. They should know better. The formula would be quick death in the newspaper business.

The denials in no way change the official facts. These are that Mr. Kennedy gave the boot to the post office operations manager and his executive group, properly located to supervise the public's mail, and took over (free) the space himself; thereby posing a serious and unfair problem to post office efficiency while he at the same time brazenly nicked the taxpayers aplenty.

I have in hand the official Post Office Department directive. It is entitled "Space for Sen. Robert F. Kennedy," dated January 7, signed by Engineering and Facilities Division Director J. J. Kerwin to Regional Director Sean P. Keating.

I quote: "As a result of a request made by Sen. Kennedy for space, Rooms 401, 402, 403, 404 and 405, presently designated as the general offices of the operations manager, Grand Central Post Office, will be vacated and that space allotted to the senator."

To achieve this, it then orders (free) precisely the upheavals, alterations and movings on the fourth and fifth floors that I enumerated. Next, it authorizes Form 73 for the free purchase of Mr. Kennedy's furniture, alas, and closes with the telephone equipment problem on the two floors "because of the dislocation of the post office units."

Government engineers in charge tell me, as I wrote, that the over-all tab will run more than $200,000. This estimate is official and impeccable. Actually the cost probably will be nearer to $225,000. Droves have been working at the thing for five solid weeks and have at least three more weeks to go. Mr. Kennedy's $12,000 to $15,000 alibi figure is hogwash.

However, the Neanderthal zest in Mr. Kennedy's typical plea of innocence ("Who, me?") made me wonder if visions of other sugar plums aren't dancing in his head. Was he also throwing his weight around behind the scenes elsewhere? Upstate Syracuse, where he intends another office? Surprise, surprise—he is.

Sen. Robert Kennedy (D.-N. Y.)

On February 11 Washington aide Walter J. Sheridan said, "Mr. Kennedy has chosen the Main Post Office building on Clinton Square." I find, but Sheridan failed to say, all will likewise be free. I also find the choice makes hardly penniless Mr. Kennedy New York's first and only elective officer of any kind ever to contrive this gimmick.

The district office of the U.S. Railroad Retirement Board goes out. It vacates Rooms 372-374. Bobby Kennedy moves in.

Board Manager William R. Spence says his group will move to the Chimes Building, 109 W. Onondaga St., Room 620.

Well, while Mr. Kennedy achieves another free ride, the federal government rents on lease the space in the Chimes Building and the tune you hear is the cheery sound of our tax money clinking, clanking, tinkling down the drain.

Irrepressible Mr. Kennedy has arranged himself into a place so overstrained that on February 15 the Post Office Department opened bids sought by its Release No. 64-159 of January 12 for an "existing building" to "alleviate conditions at the Main Post Office in Syracuse."

Conscience and money somehow do not seem to mix in politics. But when I wrote that I find it especially galling if the very rich—silently, oh, so silently—spend our money when they should spend their own, believe me, I meant it.

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A Look at Bobby Kennedy's Conduct as a Committee Counsel

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Sen. Robert F. Kennedy of New York, with something of injured dignity and pride, indulged in a considerable hassle on March 3 with members of a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee investigating various forms of snooping by the federal government. He protested the manner in which the committee brought out information about his having been involved in planting an unfavorable story about Teamster Chief Jimmy Hoffa in *Life* magazine at a time when Kennedy was still attorney general of the United States and the Department of Justice was actively prosecuting Hoffa.

He didn't make much of an impression on the committee and got no retraction of the statement by Subcommittee Chairman Edward V. Long of Missouri that the "whole thing stinks to the high heavens." Sen. Long said it was a shocking matter, in which it appeared that the Department of Justice, under Kennedy, was attempting to try a case in the newspapers.

The name of Roy Cohn (above) figured in the testimony of his lawyer, Thomas Bolan, about Robert Kennedy and a planted magazine article.

Sen. Kennedy, in righteous indignation, objected to the manner in which the testimony had been brought to light. He said that when he was chief counsel for the Senate committee investigating labor racketeering, he made it a practice to notify individuals in advance if any derogatory information about them was about to be brought out in testimony, so that they could appear immediately to defend themselves.

The point wasn't very well taken, because it was quickly explained that the committee had no advance knowledge that the information about the *Life* magazine story was going to be brought out, and therefore there was no way for the committee to have notified Sen. Kennedy in advance if it had wanted to.

But it was rather amusing to find Sen. Kennedy setting himself up as the paragon of committee counsel conduct, because his behavior in handling those labor rackets investigations was probably the most severely criticized performance in the history of congressional investigations.

He was plainly out to get Jimmy Hoffa and to deal as easily as possible with Walter Reuther, against whom the Republican minority on the committee had a wealth of information in which then Mr. Kennedy was not interested. The Republicans vented their dissatisfaction with his conduct of the hearings on repeated occasions.

They were denied access to records and information and their own minority counsel was throttled at every turn by Mr. Kennedy and his numerous minions. Perhaps Kennedy's conduct as an investigating committee counsel was not the generally accepted code, as he sought to represent it last week. This means that his indignation cannot be taken too seriously.

The fact is that when now Sen. Kennedy was chief counsel for the Labor Rackets Investigating Committee there was many a witness about whom derogatory information was put into the record who didn't get a chance to appear before the committee within 24 hours, as Sen. Kennedy did last week, but had to wait many days, perhaps weeks in some cases, before getting a chance to tell his side of the story.

Actually, the disclosures about the *Life* magazine article came into the recent hearings as something a little afield of the main purpose of the hearings: the matter of mail watches by the Post Office Department. The magazine episode was a sideline to the stories told by former chief counsel of the McCarthy investigating committee Roy Cohn and his attorney Thomas A. Bolan about mail watches that had been placed on them by the Department of Justice while Roy Cohn was being prosecuted—as it turned out a better word would be persecuted—by the United States attorney's office in New York on charges of obstruction of justice and perjury, charges of which a federal jury subsequently found him innocent.

There's a long story behind this, involving a personal feud between Bobby Kennedy and Roy Cohn and some personal rancor on the part of the United States attorney in New York, Robert Morgenthau, son of the secretary of the treasury under Franklin D. Roosevelt.

During the course of that prosecution, Morgenthau's office arranged for a mail watch to be placed on all mail going to Cohn or to his attorney Bolan, both at their offices and at their homes, and the matter was considered so serious that it finally landed in the federal courts in New York, under Federal Judge Archie Dawson.

Morgenthau's assistant Gerald Walpen was actively in charge of the Cohn case, and when Roy Cohn made an affidavit charging that the mail watch had been put on him and his attorney and that the four chief federal witnesses were persons under indictment for stock fraud—they had actually pleaded guilty but their sentences were being held up—Mr. Morgenthau's boy Walpen swore that the United States attorney's office had obtained no such mail watch and that the Cohn charges were without foundation in fact.

Walpen had the chief inspector of the post office in New York on the witness stand and got him to testify that he had no knowledge or record of any such mail watch, whereupon the judge—who since has died, incidentally—put Walpen himself on the witness stand and asked him point blank whether there ever had been any such mail watch on Roy Cohn and Thomas Bolan, and Walpen admitted that there had been. Only it didn't go through the chief inspector. The mail watch (or "cover" as it is also called) was obtained by a verbal request to one of the chief postal inspector's subordinates, and thus there was no record of it in the files.

Judge Dawson, at the time, called the affair "shocking," a "terrible thing" and something that "smacked of Russian tactics."

As the facts finally turned out, all information on the outside of all letters going through the mails to either Cohn or Bolan was recorded by the post office before the material was delivered and turned over to the United States attorney's office, which then followed down any leads it considered to be important.

All this, you understand, was when Bobby Kennedy was still attorney general of the United States, and therefore responsible for everything that went on in the Department of Justice, and it

(Cont'd on next page, column 4)

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The Myths of Federal Aid to Education–and the Facts

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

In the early postwar years, school authorities looked at the statistics and groaned. A tidal wave of war babies was surging forward to inundate available school facilities. "Call in the federal government," shouted the professional educationists. "The local school boards just can't cope with this."

The unprecedented crop of war babies has now peaked and is subsiding. And the local school boards, with almost no help from the federal government (and none of the interference that comes when the federal money kicks in), have more than held their own. Conditions in the schools have improved, and with enrollment now moving back to more normal patterns, things will get better with each passing year.

The professional educationists and the government bureaucrats, desperately reaching for power to make over the schools in their own images, continue to act as if (1) the emergency were still upon us and (2) local school boards had failed to do anything about it.

What are the facts? I turn here to the outstanding expert on federal aid to education, Dr. Roger Freeman. He in turn gets his statistics from the National Education Assn. and the U.S. Office of Education. Both the unofficial and the official group are loud and persistent partisans for federal aid, so no one can accuse them of loading the facts against such aid.

Listen to this:

In the last 10 school years, pupil enrollment in the nation's elementary public schools rose from 30 million to 42.9 million, or 43 per cent. Revenues for education leaped from $8.5 billion to $21.8 billion, or 156 per cent. All but 4 per cent of these monies came from state and local sources. The federal government had almost nothing to do with it.

However, money is only one of the tests of a school system. The number of classrooms and the number of students per teacher are considered far more significant by educators. Here again, the facts run counter to the myths of the professional educationists. In the last 10 years, the number of classrooms increased from 983,000 to 1.55 million, or 58 per cent. Instructional staffs grew from 1.15 million to 1.79 million, or 56 per cent.

Put it this way: The number of students per classroom dropped from 30.5 to 27.6—a considerable advance. The number of pupils per teacher dropped from 26 to 23.9, or practically to private school level. The dollar figures are also interesting. In 1944, before the baby boom, the nation was spending $2 billion a year for education, or 1.44 per cent of the national income. In 1964, the public schools were spending $21.3 billion, or 4.45 per cent of the national income. All education, including universities, jumped from $3.5 billion in 1944 to $33.7 billion in 1964—or from 2.07 per cent of the national income to 7.04 per cent.

The crocodile tears of those who insist that Americans are starving education to death therefore dry up. Those who feel they are fighting for the teachers ignore the fact that salaries went up 65 per cent during this period, whereas the national average for other wage earners improved by only 44 per cent.

One by one, the arguments fall. The late President Kennedy's plea that 60,000 new classrooms a year were needed and that only the federal government could provide them seems a little limp when it is matched with the reality of 70,000 classrooms a year built locally.

What Dr. Freeman has demonstrated, quoting the opposition almost exclusively, is that there is no earthly need for federal aid at this time or in the foreseeable future. Yet support for the President's bill to furnish a form of such aid has solid support on Capitol Hill, and will continue to do so until the voters make their feelings known.

The educationists, however, realize that their chances of hoodwinking the public on the matter of necessity grow dimmer with each passing year. They have therefore shifted their position. If federal aid is not economically necessary, they now argue, it is educationally vital. That is, federal direction of education is the new battle cry. But in the old days, when the professional educationists were pleading poverty, they said that they merely wanted to give the schools money and had not the slightest intention of interfering with the educational process.

The cat is now out of the bag. From now on, the voter will have to decide whether he wants his schools run by local boards or by a group of bureaucratic and opinionated educationist dictators in Washington.

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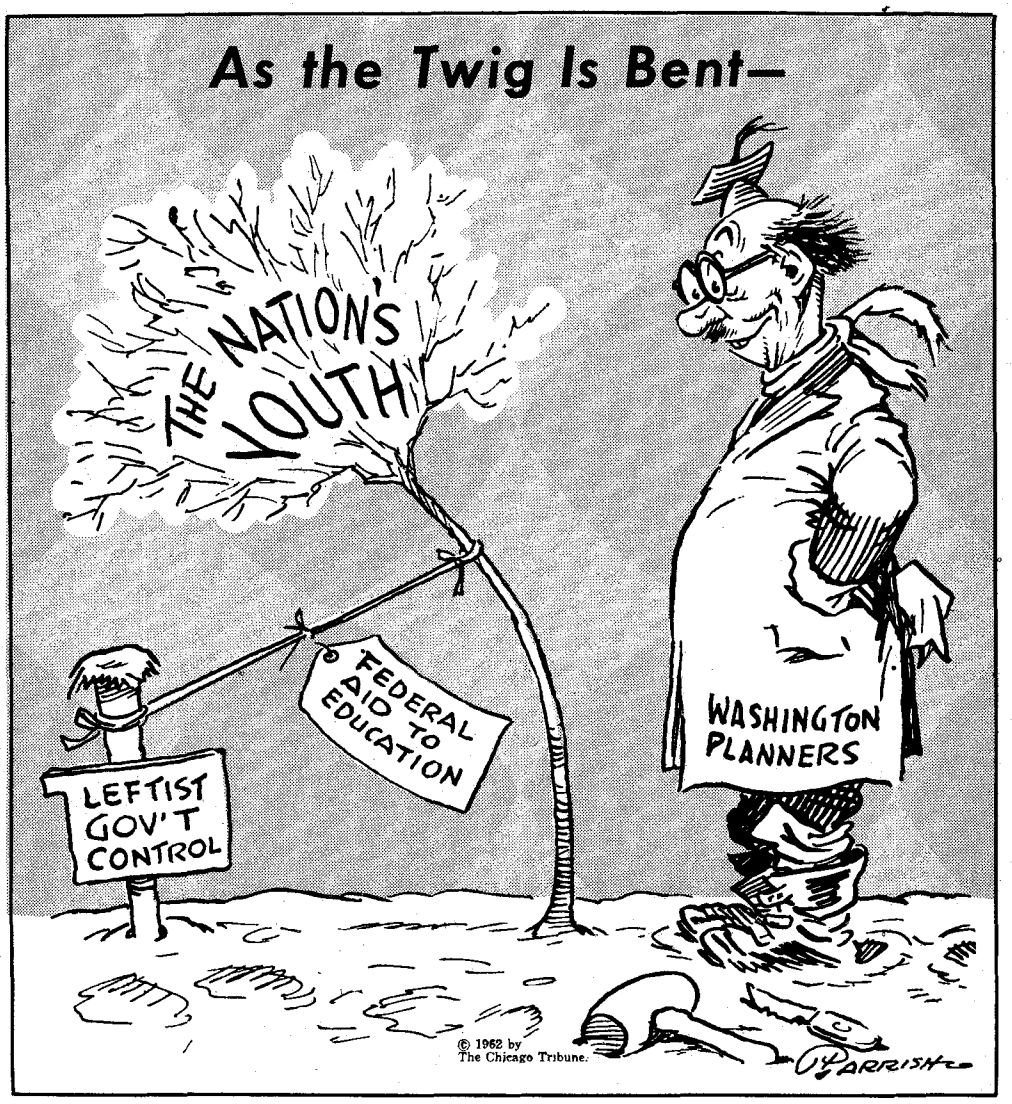

News Management Is Now News Suppression

By BARRY GOLDWATER

News management in the federal government has given way to news suppression under the Johnson Administration, and the condition grows worse daily.

Apparently a new rule of thumb is in operation, that nothing can be made public until the White House decides the revelation will reflect the greatest possible credit on President Lyndon Johnson. Any leaks that run counter to the rule draw down the presidential wrath on those found guilty. Even seemingly innocent disclosures involving possible personnel changes in the executive branch, the future cost of Administration programs, information about future government reports have been known to stir up trouble for even high officials of the Administration.

To a large extent, the President is serving as his own news secretary. He appears determined to push his "consensus" approach to the nation's news media, making sure in the process that the news put out by his Administration fits his own ideas of consensus. In this case, consensus apparently means agreement on everything he proposes under the "Great Society" and approval of everything he does in the field of foreign affairs.

More and more neutral observers attribute the government's refusal to define its policy and intention in South Viet Nam to the executive obsession with a "favorable image."

The President's attitude on news raises the question of the people's right to know about their government. The activities of the government—particularly in situations involving war or peace—affect every American. Their implications go far beyond the fortunes of a particular administration, political party or individual official.

In the Kennedy Administration, it will be recalled, there was a great deal of gamesmanship and news management. Government agencies, for example, were under virtual orders to get President John Kennedy's name into all of their most important announcements. News developments from the White House, the State Department and the defense establishment were carefully timed for maximum effect. The emphasis was more on the art of manipulation than on suppression.

There is a broad difference between the way the news was handled in the Kennedy Administration and the way it is handled today. In the news management era, the purpose was patently political. It was designed more to further the objectives of the New Frontier than to prove Mr. Kennedy 100 per cent right in everything he said or did.

Today there is much more personal involvement on the part of the President. The motivating force behind the handling of news seems to be the chief executive's desire to be personally approved by all Americans. He seems to want to know in advance everything that is going to be said or written about him by the various segments of the news media.

Among other things, such a presidential attitude can have a paralyzing effect on the normal news operations of government agencies. There is nothing like the fear of White House disapproval to make Cabinet members, public relations officers and other key officials of the government think twice before talking to news reporters or commentators.

The situation is an unhealthy one which only the President can correct.

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Cont'd from Page 8

Bobby Kennedy As A Committee Counsel

was done under the immediate supervision of his own hand-picked United States Attorney Morgenthau for the Southern District of New York.

Thus, it would seem that now Sen. Kennedy could well stand some further examination on the matter of ethics in which he professed to be such an authority. The club rules of the Senate, however, make this rather difficult to accomplish because the members are supposed never to say anything derogatory about each other. Whether that includes mention of acts that occurred before a senator became a senator or just the things he does while he *is* a senator is a matter of some argument.

In any event, in this case, the most that has happened thus far is that Chairman Long stated that he considers the matter so serious that he feels obligated to present it to the Judiciary Committee as a whole and the chairman of the Judiciary Committee is Sen. Jim Eastland of Mississippi who has no particular lost love for Robert Kennedy—committee counsel, attorney general or senator.

□ □ □

"IT IS A SOCIALIST idea that making profits is a vice. I consider the real vice is making a loss."—Winston Churchill

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Where Are Joint Chiefs of Staff?

Our Civilian Generals Run the Vietnamese War

By ALICE WIDENER

Where are our military Joint Chiefs of Staff? Has anyone heard or seen them lately? We are in a war in Southeast Asia with our planes carrying out 100-bomber raids against the Communist enemy. Has anyone outside the Pentagon heard a word from the chairman of the Joint Chiefs? Has anyone seen his picture in the newspapers or his name in print? How many Americans know his name?

Has anyone seen a photo of our President conferring in this time of worsening crisis in Viet Nam with a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff? Has anyone seen a picture of a military man in uniform at the White House for anything except evening social occasions?

Who is running the Viet Nam war and devising its strategy and tactics?

That's easy to answer. The civilian generals are: "General" Robert S. McNamara, "General" McGeorge Bundy and "General" Dean Rusk. In this group, McNamara is tops and that is why our war in Viet Nam is known throughout the world as "McNamara's War."

What has been the professional training of the "generals" running this Viet Nam war in which thousands of our troops are engaged? Are the "generals" graduates of West Point, Annapolis and the Air Academy? Oh, no! Perish the very idea.

They are MIT and Harvard and University of Virginia intellectuals. Haven't you heard? Military men's brains are in their feet, and war is too important to be left to their judgment. At least, that's what the notorious

The Joint Chiefs of Staff. Seated (left to right); Adm. David L. McDonald; Gen. Earle G. Wheeler (Army), Chairman; and Gen. Harold K. Johnson (Army). Standing: Gen. John P. McConnell (Air Force) and Gen. Wallace M. Greene (Marine Corps).

These three "generals" are devising strategy and tactics for U. S. campaign in South Viet Nam. From left to right: Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, Secretary of State Dean Rusk and White House adviser McGeorge Bundy.

Fulbright Memorandum of 1961 said about our military.

It has been said that the Fulbright Memorandum really was written by McNamara's whiz kids. Whether it was or wasn't, the fact is that after its release by Sen. J. William Fulbright, our military men were out—definitely not to be seen or heard.

What was the immediate result? The Bay of Pigs disaster. After it occurred, there was a serious effort made in White House circles to shift the blame to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The anti-military professors and whiz kids almost got away with it. But facts have a way of leaking out. And so—finally—Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy was obliged to admit publicly that the Cuban fiasco was "my brother's mistake."

As tragic as the Bay of Pigs disaster was—to the cause of freedom, and to the heroic men who took part in it and their families—there were not thousands of American troops involved. But in the Viet Nam war we have more than 20,000 American officers' and men's lives at stake. If disaster should occur, whose "mistake" will it be?

On March 1, there were reports in the press that President Johnson's decision to open a continuing, limited war against North Viet Nam was based on a political plan to bring about a negotiated settlement of the Viet Nam problem on honorable terms. This plan was the "McNamara-Bundy plan" modified by John T. McNaughton, assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs and re-drafted—according to the New York *Times*—"by two of the State Department's young experts on Asian affairs."

Obviously, then, we are now fighting the Viet Nam war according to the McNamara-Bundy-McNaughton-two-young-men-in-the-State-Department plan.

What have the Joint Chiefs to say about it? Nothing the public has heard. After all, who are the Joint Chiefs? Just a bunch of know-nothings or, as the Fulbright Memorandum put it, "There is little in the education, training or experience of most military officers to equip them with the balance of judgment necessary to put their own ultimate solutions—those with which their education, training and experience are concerned—into proper perspective in the President's total 'strategy for the nuclear age.'"

In Southeast Asia now, our nation is testing with American lives the balance of judgment exercised by civilian "Generals" McNamara, Bundy and Rusk and two young men in the State Department. It seems they are equipped with the education, training and experience for devising an ultimate solution there.

If it turns out to be a "mistake," who will be blamed? The silent, unseen, unheard Joint Chiefs? Let us pray our Viet Nam war won't turn out to be a defeat. Nobody can predict the outcome. But today all America is worrying and saying, "McNamara's War doesn't look too good, does it?"

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Johnson and the 'Trigger Happy' Charge

Conservative politicos have been getting some grim chuckles from an item by liberal funny-man Art Buchwald, syndicated columnist for the New York *Herald Tribune*.

Buchwald, in a recent bit of humor, said he was wondering what the country would be like if Barry M. Goldwater had been elected President of the United States.

"Based on his campaign and his speeches, it is a frightening thing to imagine. The mind boggles when you think of it." For one thing, said Buchwald, "we would probably be bombing North Viet Nam now if Goldwater were in office.

"As I see it, this is what would have happened. The Viet Cong would have blown up an American barracks. Using this as an excuse, Goldwater would immediately call for a strike on military bases in North Viet Nam and announce a 'new tit-for-tat' policy. Democrats would be horrified and they would make speeches that Goldwater was 'trigger happy' and was trying to get us into a war with Red China.

"But Goldwater would ignore the criticism and to show that he meant business, he would continue the raids, using not only Air Force bombers, but also jets from the U.S. fleet. As time went on, the country would be shaken at the recklessness of Goldwater's plan, but he would explain through his secretary of state, that instead of a 'tit-for-tat' policy, we now intended to bomb North Viet Nam in order to let Hanoi know that they could not support the Viet Cong without expecting retaliation."

Lawmakers, Buchwald continued, would call for negotiations, but "Goldwater, with his lack of restraint, would retort that there is nothing to negotiate and we would only be selling out Southeast Asia . . . ."

In order for Goldwater to explain his desperate actions, Buchwald continued in wry fashion, he "would have the Defense and State Departments produce a White Paper justifying the attacks and proving that Hanoi was responsible for the revolution in South Viet Nam . . . .

"The paper would be followed by more air strikes using South Vietnamese planes as well as American B-57s."

Those who had voted for Johnson, declared satirist Buchwald, "would scream at their Republican friends, 'I told you if Goldwater became President he'd get us into a war.' But the Republicans would claim that Goldwater had no choice, that he, in fact, inherited the Viet Nam problem from the Democrats and if he didn't take a strong stand now, America would be considered a paper tiger."

The entire thing appeared "far-fetched" to Buchwald and he even said "I may have let my imagination run away with itself because even Barry Goldwater, had he become President, wouldn't have gone so far.

"But fortunately, with President Johnson at the helm, we don't even have to think about it."

U.S. Marines wave greetings to Vietnamese welcoming them to Da Nang last week.

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RIGID CONTROLS—With every change proposed in Washington come more rigid controls over the farmer. If this trend keeps up, farmers might wake up some morning and find a letter in their mail box outlining exactly what they will plant on every acre of their farm. Then it will be too late to do anything about it.—From the Ithaca (Mich.) Gratiot County *Herald*

□ □ □

TRUE CHARACTER—Sometimes a man is better than his reputation, but never better than his principles.—From the Littleton (N.H.) *Courier*

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ALREADY THERE—A leading economist fears a period of inflation may be just around the corner. That's comparable to a man standing in waist-deep water fearing his feet may get wet. —From the Gordon (Nebr.) *Journal*

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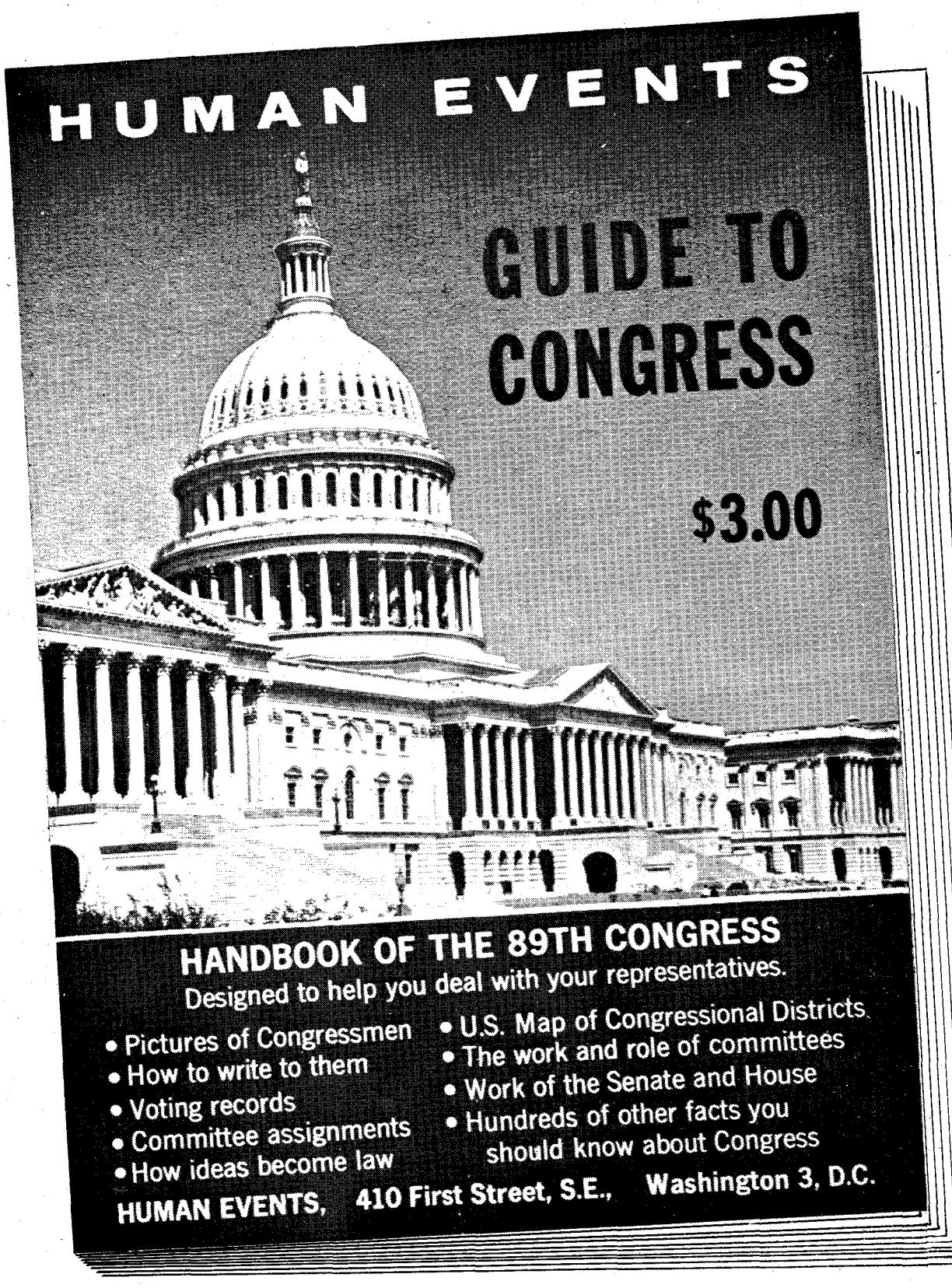
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'There's Votes in Them Thar Hills'

$1.1-Billion Appalachian Boondoggle

By ALLAN H. RYSKIND

President Johnson appears intent upon dragging the honest taxpayer down, down, down to the Poor House before the decade is out. No boondoggle seems so bad that he will not place it on the shoulders of the American citizen.

While anxiously awaiting the chance to stick Americans with the Medicare and education millstones, last week he cheerily piled the first of the "Great Society" spending schemes on the backs of humble breadwinners when he signed a $1.1-billion bill supposedly fashioned to combat poverty in the 11-state Appalachia region.

With a flourish typically Johnson—and scornful of the taxpayer—the President proceeded to cap the bill-signing ceremony by giving away 80 taxpayer-financed pens which he had ostentatiously used to affix his name to the measure. Ever dramatic, he tossed the last pen into the crowd. While hardly making a dent in the national debt, the pen hand-out was symbolic of the entire program.

Solemnly, the President announced that with this law "The pork barrel is gone"—but then proceeded to stab the taxpayer with additional bad news: Similar billion-dollar measures would probably be prepared for "all regions and flouted in none."

In short, as could have been predicted, the pork barrel has just begun.

However the President and his propagandists insist that Appalachia is a new approach to building the economy, impartial observers see it as a series of old, warmed-over federal welfare measures which sap vital authority from the states.

The law establishes an Appalachian Regional Commission to coordinate projects which are to be spread over 360 counties covering all of West Virginia and portions of Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina Tennessee and Virginia. In addition, the commission will be allowed to consider, thanks to the lobbying of Sen. Bobby Kennedy, Appalachia aid for 13 counties in New York.

The Appalachian Regional Commission, described as a "federally controlled regional octopus" by Republicans, clearly destroys state authority. The commission is to be composed of a federal co-chairman appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, and the 11 governors of the Appalachian region or their designated representatives.

While the bill makes the federal representative co-chairman of the commission, no decision can be made without his affirmative vote. Thus, in the words of Rep. William C. Cramer (R.-Fla.), the LBJ appointee will have much the same veto power over the commission's spending plans as the Soviets have over projects in the United Nations.

Destructive of state authority, the President's boondoggle also goes a long way toward destroying the dollar. While the welfare ideas for Appalachia are not new, the scope of the program is vast and duplicates the multifarious federal spending schemes already on the books.

Under the law, the federally dominated commission is authorized to duplicate the federal highway program by spending up to $840 million (or over 75 per cent of its funds) for roads. In addition, the commission will be in the business of spending for vocational education, creating new TVA's, building hospitals, reclaiming land and subsidizing farmers.

Indeed, there is hardly an area of operation the commission, with federal approval, cannot undertake.

Rep. Cramer, taking note of the fact that Medicare should be considered by the Ways and Means Committee, not Public Works, points out that Appalachia provides for "socialized medicine." For the "first time in the history of legislation by this body," Cramer argued on the House floor, the lower chamber is providing "for 100 per cent operational costs of multi-county health facilities and other hospitals, regional health diagnostic and treatment centers and other facilities necessary to health."

Others complained that while the bureau of the Budget estimates that 2.5 million farmers ought to leave the land and go to the cities, it is hardly time for Appalachia to provide $500 to each farmer in Appalachia to improve his pasture land. This is particularly so since accelerated cattle production and imports over the past years have driven the cattle industry to the wall.

Moreover, the Administration is using questionable statistics in terming Appalachia an area of deep poverty. The Administration takes the position that an annual family income of less than $3,000 is the dividing line between poverty and the ability to enjoy affluence. Republicans point out that this is a "gross oversimplification"

A family income of less than $3,000 may well be at the poverty level for a large urban family but may reflect a comparatively comfortable situation for a small family living in a low-cost rural or semi-rural area. Factors other than cash income, furthermore, are not reflected in the Administration's determination of what counties get a federal hand-out.

Furthermore, the Administration, while realizing that the Appalachia area has improved economically over the past five years, is deliberately basing its poverty statistics on 1960 figures. Thus, while West Virginia had over 100,000 unemployed in 1960, for example, this had dropped to under 60,000 by 1964. While the state of Virginia may have been impoverished in 1960, by 1964 it had the lowest total percentage of unemployment in the nation.

Indeed, despite LBJ's claims that the Appalachia program is to benefit the impoverished, much of the money will pour into rich counties as well as supposedly poor ones. Of the 360 counties included, 50 have never been eligible for financial assistance under the Area Redevelopment Act or the Public Works Acceleration Act; 26 other counties, though once eligible, no longer are.

Thus, 76 counties, or 21 per cent of the Appalachian region, cannot be classified as needy even under the Administration's own loose definitions.

Rep. H.L. Fountain (D.-N.C.) has stated that in each of three of the 11 Appalachian states—Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina—the 10 poorest counties are located outside the Appalachian region. "In addition," remarks the North Carolinian, "in Maryland and Pennsylvania there are no counties in which the median family income is below $3,000."

The opportunity for wide-spread graft is also a drawback to the program. Under Appalachia, funds will be available for the construction of 1,000 miles of "local access roads" which will serve "specific recreational, residential, commercial, industrial or other like facilities or will facilitate school consolidation programs."

As the Republicans on the House Public Works Committee point out: "There is no requirement that these roads be publicly owned or operated. Thus, federal taxpayers' money would be available to pay up to 70 per cent of the cost of constructing private driveways and access roads to country clubs, swimming pools, golf courses and the like. The opportunity for financial favoritism and political payoffs to the owners, developers and operators of 'specific recreational, residential, commercial, industrial or other like facilities' is uncomfortably apparent."

In short, Appalachia is a duplication of previous programs, opens the door wide to more federal control over the states, is based on dubious statistics, and leaves room for hanky-panky in its method of handing out funds. But that should hardly be surprising from this Administration.

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ANONYMITY NEEDED—A Duluth TV newscaster remarked recently that with all the new jobs that LBJ was giving Hubert—no one would wonder "whatever happened to Hubert Humphrey?" That's just the trouble! A little anonymity is what Hubert needs. —From the Hayward (Wisc.) Sawyer County *Record*

House Vote on Passage Of Appalachia Bill

The House passed the $1.1-billion Appalachia bill by a 257-to-165 rollcall vote on March 3. Voting for the bill were 232 Democrats and 25 Republicans. Opposed were 109 Republicans and 56 Democrats.

The 25 Republicans voting for the measure were:

Ashbrook (Ohio)	Lindsay (N. Y.)
Carter (Ky.)	McDade (Pa.)
Clancy (Ohio)	Mathias (Md.)
Corbett (Pa.)	Moore (W. Va.)
Curtin (Pa.)	O'Konski (Wis.)
Duncan (Tenn.)	Quillen (Tenn.)
Fino (N. Y.)	Reid (N. Y.)
Fulton (Pa.)	Schneebeli (Pa.)
Goodell (N. Y.)	Schweiker (Pa.)
Halpern (N. Y.)	Tupper (Maine)
Harsha (Ohio)	Watkins (Pa.)
Johnson (Pa.)	Whalley (Pa.)

The 56 Democrats voting against the measure were:

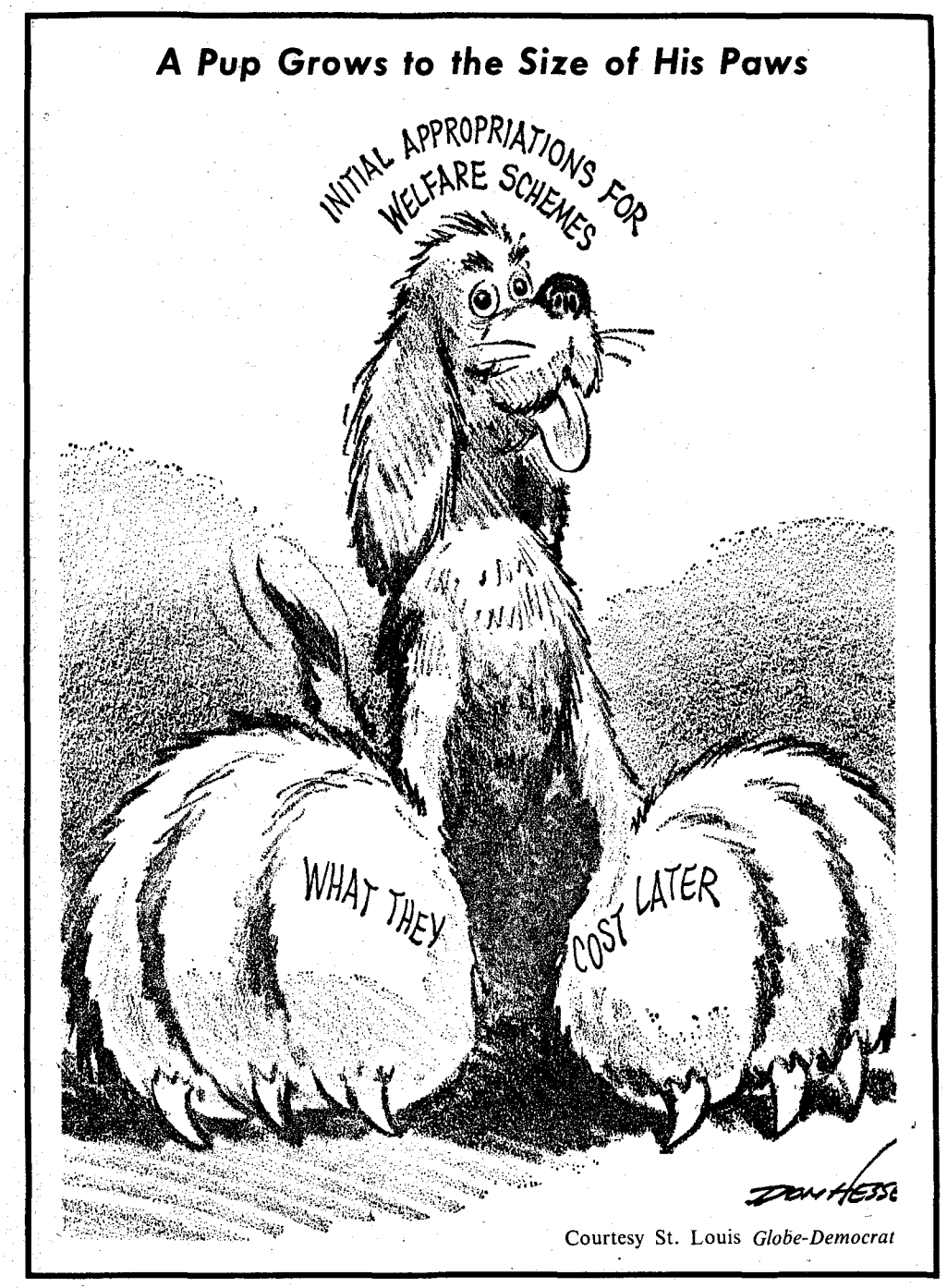
Abbitt (Va.)	Jarman (Okla.)
Abernethy (Miss.)	Jones (Mo.)
Geo. Andrews (Ala.)	Lennon (N. C.)
Ashmore (S. C.)	Long (La.)
Baring (Nev.)	MacDonald (Mass.)
Bennett (Fla.)	Mahon (Tex.)
Burleson (Tex.)	Marsh (Va.)
Casey (Tex.)	Matthews (Fla.)
Colmer (Miss.)	Monagan (Conn.)
Cooley (N. C.)	O'Neal (Ga.)
Daddario (Conn.)	Passman (La.)
De La Garza (Tex.)	Pike (N. Y.)
Dowdy (Tex.)	Poage (Tex.)
Downing (Va.)	Pool (Tex.)
Fisher (Tex.)	Randall (Mo.)
Fountain (N. C.)	Roberts (Tex.)
Fuqua (Fla.)	Rogers (Fla.)
Gathings (Ark.)	Rogers (Tex.)
Giamio (Conn.)	Roush (Ind.)
Grabowski (Conn.)	Satterfield (Va.)
Green (Ore.)	Selden (Ala.)
Haley (Fla.)	Smith (Va.)
Hardy (Va.)	Teague (Tex.)
Hebert (La.)	Tuck (Va.)
Hebert (Fla.)	Waggonner (La.)
Hull (Mo.)	Walker (N. M.)
Ichord (Mo.)	Whitten (Miss.)
Irwin (Conn.)	Williams (Miss.)

Recorded for but not actually voting, 5: Toll (Pa.), Hanna (Calif.), Roosevelt (Calif.) and McVicker (Colo.), all Democrats, and Kunkel (Pa.), a Republican.

Recorded against but not actually voting, 5: Ellsworth (Kan.), Griffin (Mich.), Keith (Mass.) and Widnall (N.J.), all Republicans, and Hamilton (Ind.), a Democrat.

Absent or not voting, 2: Speaker McCormack and Smith (N.Y.)

A Pup Grows to the Size of His Paws



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A Look at the Right-to-Work Record

From the Dallas *Morning News*

Many members of Congress, simply to pay off their debt to labor for support at the polls, seem ready and eager to cast their votes for repeal of Section 14b of Taft-Hartley—the right-to-work provision—without examining the issue in detail.

Far too many have accepted blindly the union-labeled propaganda that right-to-work laws are "slave-labor" or "union-busting" statutes, devised by management to oppress the worker and stifle economic progress.

Before a vote is taken on repeal of 14b in Congress, it is hoped that these representatives will take a hard look at the facts. For the record shows that there is a dramatic difference in many areas of economic progress between the 19 states where right-to-work laws are in force and the 31 states which permit compulsory unionism.

The right-to-work concept, once merely a matter of speculation, is now a matter of record; the truth about these laws and their effect on the economy of the states which have adopted them is relatively easy to pin down.

The truth is this: Nowhere is there evidence that right-to-work laws have destroyed unions, lowered wages or taken anything away from working men and women.

Substantial evidence is to the contrary. Unions have continued to grow under right-to-work laws. States that have adopted such laws have made more progress than the rest of the nation in the creation of new jobs, boosting wages, keeping unemployment down and raising the standard of living of their citizens.

Following are a few basic facts, taken from the records of the U.S. Departments of Labor and Commerce—facts that speak for themselves:

(Continued in next Column)

• Hourly earnings of manufacturing workers increased from 1953 to 1963 by 46.7 per cent in right-to-work states and by 42.4 per cent in those without right-to-work laws.

• New manufacturing jobs were created in the same period and 23.2 per cent in the right-to-work states, by 9.9 per cent in all others.

• Per capita personal income rose by 43 per cent in right-to-work states, by 34.7 per cent in all others.

• Unemployment rate in right-to-work states as of 1962 was 4.6 per cent; in others, it was 5.6 per cent.

Additional facts can be cited showing that the right-to-work states outstripped all others by wide margins in the increased value of added manufacturing, capital expenditures, bank deposits, motor vehicle registration, annual retail payrolls, retail sales and many other indicators of economic progress.

Right-to-work laws have not been solely—or even primarily—responsible for this progress. But they may very well have contributed substantially to it. And it seems obvious that such laws at least haven't been harmful to the economy of the 19 states that have adopted them.

□ □ □

EXPERIENCED DECISION—"The Professional Education Fraternity, Phi Delta Kappa, has issued a statement to the effect that the 1965 federal aid to education bill as compromised by the Administration in connection with private schools could wreck the public schools."—Rep. J. Arthur Younger (R.-Calif.)

Guidelines for Whom?

From the Nashville *Banner*

According to federal statisticians—keepers of the price index—consumer goods costs have risen nine per cent in six years.

What does that mean? In everyday pocketbook language, it simply means that you now must pay $109 for what you could have bought in 1957-59 for $100. So the government blows its admonitory whistle. It calls for everybody to get back to the price-wage "guidelines" it recommended a few years ago when the Heller-Schlesinger advisory team was going great guns.

But read on. Reporting this statistical breach in the inflation dike, the publication *Nation's Business* asks the question:

"What's the government's own record for restraint?"

It provides the answer:

"For every $100 in the same 1957-59 period, the federal government now is spending $141. The Administration wants to boost this outlay to $148.

"When its costs are rising nearly five times as fast as other things, maybe government should get some guideposts of its own."

Amen!

Dollar Outflow Problem

Business Cut Not the Answer

From the San Diego *Union*

Forcing businessmen to reduce their overseas investment is a weak approach to the growing balance-of-payments problem.

The Administration has asked businessmen to stem the drain of American dollars overseas by spending less on plants and investments in developed foreign countries. It is hinted federal pressure will be used if businessmen do not comply voluntarily.

The implication is that private business investments abroad are the principal reason dollars are flowing out of the country faster than money from other nations is coming in. This is not true.

In the 18 years after 1946 income to the U. S. businesses from foreign investments was about $40 billion—almost $13 billion more than the total investment. Present investments are returning about $4 billion a year.

The principal reason for excessive U. S. spending abroad is the federal government itself. Much of the spending for foreign aid and defense does not return any money to this country. This is the area the federal government will have to study to solve the balance-of-payments predicament.

In Brazil, for example, businessmen say: "We do not need or want U. S. charity. We need U. S. business investments to help our economy grow."

There are many things wrong with the proposal to curb private investments. The "benefits" will be short-term. In the long run the investments will return a profit to the United States.

It will put American companies at a competitive disadvantage with European firms, and possibly with each other, if some do not limit investments voluntarily. A business cannot stand still. The firms doing business abroad must grow constantly to keep abreast of competition.

Furthermore, the investments are assisting economies of other nations, which in turn stimulate more trade with the United States. At the present time the United States has a commercial trade surplus of $3.6 billion a year—the best in the world.

For a long-term solution to the vexing balance-of-payments problem, the United States must make a thorough study of its own overseas spending, particularly foreign aid.

It also must make a study of fiscal policies at home that tend to overvalue the dollar in world markets, which means other nations can sell goods cheaper. This also decreases confidence of the dollar abroad.

American business cannot be put into the impossible position of being an official arm of foreign policy, regulated by law or government pressure.

□ □ □

THINGS ARE really great in the "Great Society." The gods still help those who help themselves, while the government now helps those who don't.
— From the San Diego *Union*

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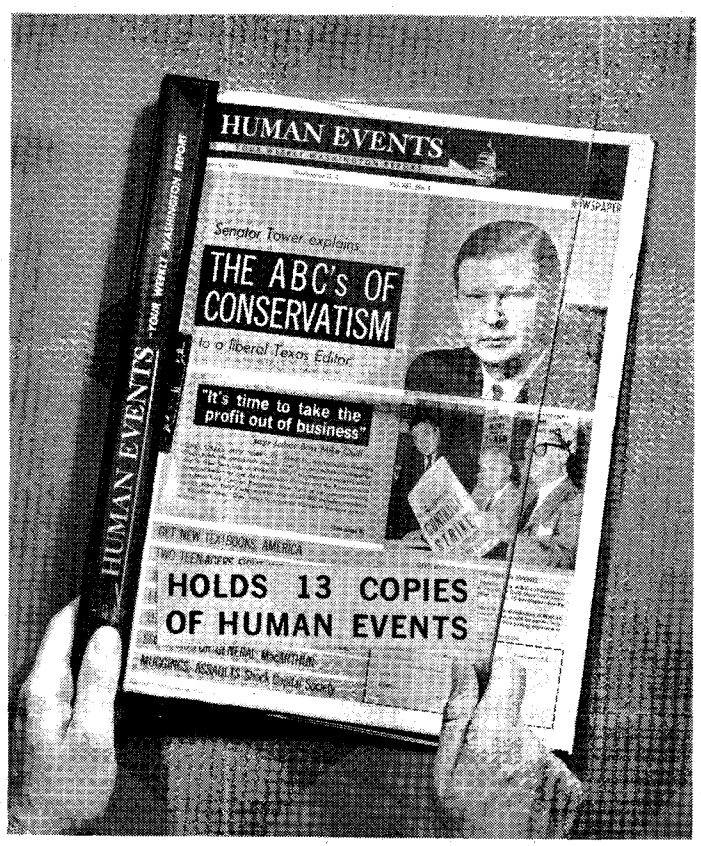
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Unions Face Ethical Question In Use of Their Pension Funds

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

There is a question of ethics involved in the decision of the AFL-CIO executive council to use the power of $75 billion in accumulated health, welfare and pension plan funds to further union objectives.

President George Meany hedged when asked if organized labor plans to use this huge cache as a "club" to help unionize banks and other financial institutions. He allowed only that it was being considered. But the executive council had no such inhibitions.

It said in its prepared statement that "every trade union official having any responsibility for the operation of health, welfare and pension plans also has the obligation to exert every effort to see that expenditures by such plans are made with due regard for the working conditions and labor policies of the firms with which the plans do business."

The ethics of this decision can be questioned because most of the money in these trust funds comes from contributing employers. These funds are for health, welfare and pensions only—at least that is the claim in collective bargaining.

If unions are now allowed to use these funds for unionizing and furthering their own causes in other unspecified ways, are they acting ethically? Can they in good conscience accept or ask for additional health, welfare and pension benefits if they intend to use part of this money against the business system that contributes it?

There can be only one answer. No, it is not ethical. And it should not be permitted. If the attempt is made to use these funds for purposes other than originally intended, then new legislation should be passed to block such abuse of power.

Medicine Is the Whipping Boy

By DICK WEST in the Dallas *Morning News*

The big push in Washington for government medical schemes reminds that the doctor, throughout the world, is the politician's favorite whipping boy.

In Britain, in Sweden, in West Germany, Austria and Australia the story is the same: Wherever there is socialized medicine, or its derivatives, the doctor and druggist are regulated and red-taped to the point of surrender.

A letter signed by 25 family doctors to the London *Telegraph and Morning Post* tells of the frustration in Britain over the government's health service:

"We in general practice have done our best to make it work, often at great personal and financial sacrifice, but now feel we are at the end of our tether.

"Our present iniquitous system of remuneration is such that, as more and more general practitioners leave the service and emigrate, the remaining practitioners are actually paid less for the greater number of patients on their lists.

"Seething discontent and bitter frustration among general medical practitioners up and down the country have prompted us to ventilate some of our grievances."

The problem in Britain—and in every country with government-controlled medical schemes—is a stopping point. Where does it end?

This is beginning to worry the Johnson Administration. If Medicare is passed for those 65 and over, how long will it be before a bill drops the age to 60, then to 55 and then to 50?

Will vote-conscious congressmen be able to resist demands that infant care be added, then care for those in colleges who are pinched financially, as they try to get started in the world?

The whole thing can become a monster that drains the federal treasury and saps the strength of medicine itself. At its ultimate, Medicare becomes no care.

Only a few weeks ago Britain's National Health Service ordered that all medicines be free of cost to patients who have signed up with the program. They had been paying two shillings an item.

The doctor, the druggist and medical researcher are not the real losers in socialized medicine. The individual patient and the nation itself suffer the most.

In London, a man told by his doctor that he must enter the hospital for a hernia operation was outraged to learn he must wait 18 months for a bed. His was an emergency case, but the beds were filled by many who had "imaginary ailments."

Not long ago there were 500,000 on Britain's hospital waiting lists, including one gentleman with an infected toenail. A check showed that 600 British doctors, which is a third of the annual output of all its medical schools, were leaving each year for other countries.

The costs of government medicine are always more than the original estimates, and this is beginning to worry our own enthusiasts in Washington.

In 1948, when Britain's National Health Service was started, Lord Beveridge said the first year's cost would be only 170 million pounds, which was 10 million under all medical services under the country's private system.

But he missed—badly. The first year cost 377 million pounds and by 1961 it had risen to 820 million.

Living costs in Britain went up three times from 1940 to 1960, but medical costs under government direction went up four and a half times.

Hospital administrative expenses have risen 11 to 18 times. The cost of drugs under the government program, only 37 million pounds in 1950, was 90 million by 1961.

There is nothing free, of course, about so-called "free government medicine." Somebody must pay for the pills, hospital construction, nurses and physicians.

Sweden made health insurance compulsory in 1955. Expenditures of voluntary sickness funds the year before were only $55 million. The total had jumped to $240 million after six years of the government's mandatory scheme.

The system of financing in Sweden should interest those in the United States who want to pay for Medicare out of Social Security funds.

Sweden takes withholding taxes of up to $60 a year from a working class family and taxes the employer 1.14 per cent of his payroll. But this covers only three fourths of the total medical services. The rest is made up from general tax revenues. To help defray this, Sweden imposed a general sales tax of 4.2 per cent in 1960 and increased it to 6.4 in 1962.

Britain is now in its 17th year of government medicine. Apostles of the program in 1948 acknowledged there would be troubles, but they figured that within five years the whole scheme would be operating smoothly and—as we related—at a smaller cost to the public than private medicine.

But they miscalculated. A London editorialist, commenting on the recent directive for free drugs, said a "thorough overhauling of the entire service" is urgent—and particularly "the arrangements for financing general practice."

"The importance of protecting the doctor against frivolous calls on his time is only one element," the editorial said. "The patient must also be put in the best position to command the care and consideration to which he is entitled."

It is the individual patient, to repeat, who suffers under socialized medicine. The doctor can reconcile himself to the red tape and frustrations of his profession under a minister of health. The patient is helpless.

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

"The Berlin Wall has remained, the missiles are still in Cuba, the U.S.S.R. still hasn't paid its obligations in the U.N., Laos has a coalition government and our current situation in Viet Nam is critical. Yet we see no major change in foreign policy."
—Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio)

Aid to Nasser

By REP. O. C. FISHER (D.-Tex.)

When the United States was so bold as to suggest that perhaps Nasser should thereafter pay for future deliveries of food under P.L. 480, in hard currency, the Egyptian dictator blew his top, and said if the United States did not like Egypt's terms for payment for additional wheat—in Egyptian pounds rather than hard currencies—the United States "can go drink sea water."

At that point the Congress was asked to appropriate additional funds, including money to finance such deliveries as the wheat to Nasser. And the House rebelled—temporarily. But the Senate reneged on the House action, and then the House reversed itself and approved continued delivery of this foreign aid to Nasser on the latter's terms.

It was contended by some that the matter of whether the hand-out to Nasser should be continued should be determined by the President—not by Congress. This was, of course, a phony contention. It was the Congress—not the President—which enacted P.L. 480. And it is, of course, the responsibility of the Congress to appropriate funds to carry out the law, and determine the conditions under which it is to be spent.

Total Foreign Aid

By REP. ROBERT McCLORY (R.-Ill.)

This year, the President has requested foreign aid funds totaling almost $3.5 billion, which include more than $1 billion for military assistance and the remainder going for various forms of non-military aid. However, this figure is misleading in many respects. It does not include, for instance, foreign aid provided through the shipment of surplus agricultural products by the Commodity Credit Corporation which will total another $2 billion. Neither does it include funds which are loaned through the World Bank, nor sums which are spent abroad for the maintenance of American troops in widespread areas around the world. Other additional foreign aid is provided by various agencies and departments of the federal government including the State Department. It has been estimated that —if all of the Administration measures are passed—foreign aid will amount to more than $5.5 billion in the next fiscal year.

Socialized Hospitals

By REP. LESLIE ARENDS (R.-Ill.)

I do not believe that the general public is fully aware of how far-reaching the [Appalachia] program is, and there may readily develop demands for like massive federal intervention in other areas. Most are inclined to accept it as an "anti-poverty" program, without inquiring into its exact nature. One feature, for example, that has not received much attention is that it provides for a 100 per cent federal grant to defray the cost not only for the equipment but for the actual operation of health centers and other hospitals. It is one thing for the federal government to aid in the construction and purchase of equipment of a hospital, but quite another when the federal government, rather than the state, also pays the cost of its operation. It is a program that appeals more to the emotions than to reason. And it is not without its political value. Perhaps that accounts for its being proposed in the first place and its being so readily adopted by the Congress. We hope this will not prove to be another "rubber-stamp" Congress.

Disarmament Agency

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

A few years ago, this government was spending around $1 million a year to maintain a small staff of people to discuss disarmament. In 1961, Congress rubber-stamped legislation creating a super-dooper disarmament agency although there was not the slightest evidence that any nation had any intention of disarming. Like Topsy of old, this new agency grew quickly. Last year it spent between $9 million and $10 million. Now it is asking for a 4-year authorization of $55 million so it won't have to come back each year and justify its spending. Right now, some 60 of its 200 employes are being paid from $15,000 to $30,000 each per year. Even the thought of disarmament comes high!

Government in Business

By SEN. WALLACE F. BENNETT (R.-Utah)

It is estimated that since President Eisenhower left office the government's investment in activities that compete with private business has been increased by more than $2 billion. It is both unfair and unjust for the federal government to compel private companies to pay taxes that will subsidize federal competition against themselves and perhaps put them out of business. . . . Estimates of government's capital investment in business operations range widely from $30 billion—which isn't an insignificant sum in itself—to five times that amount. It is obvious that a good deal of money could be saved by getting government out of competitive business whenever possible. . . . The Johnson Administration is not showing any signs of vigorously implementing the directives issued by the Bureau of the Budget in the past which helped prevent government competition with private industry. Rather than ending programs which compete with free enterprise, on balance this competition is being sharply increased. . . . It is high time something was done to put a stop to this competitive waste of the people's money—and this loss of needed revenue. The first step in this process of ending this unhappy situation is for Congress to adopt a policy, a definite and positive policy, that the government should get out of business to the maximum extent possible.

Increasing Trade with the Red Bloc

By REP. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB (R.-Calif.)

The widespread efforts to expand trade with Communist bloc nations point to one of the most glaring inconsistencies in the area of our national policy today.

At the present time we are engaged in stopping a relentless Communist drive to take over South Viet Nam. U.S.S.R. Premier Kosygin is calling for the United States not only to get out of Viet Nam but also Korea, and to abandon the whole of Southeast Asia to communism. Mob action has resulted in serious defacing of the American Embassy in Moscow. Communist infiltration and subversion continue world-wide in such areas as the Congo and South America.

And these of course are only some of the current happenings in the never-ending, deceitful Communist drive to impose totalitarian, Socialistic governments on the world.

Yet, unbelievable as it may seem, while all this is going on the drive to open the gates to increased trading with Communist nations apparently is continuing to gain momentum.

Recently, the White House created a businessmen's committee to study trade relations with the Red bloc. Its purpose is to help expand such trade. Right along with this, efforts are being made to enlist support for expanding commercial dealings with the Reds in areas such as the academic field, business associations, and so forth.

We hear calls for "normal" trade with the bloc. But what would be "normal" about trade with nations belonging to the world-trade Communist conspiracy against free nations and free governments? What would be "normal" about extending credit to nations who consider us their enemy? What would be "normal" about allowing Communists to purchase factories and equipment to build up their economies in areas where they are deficient, such as electronics, chemicals, synthetic rubber, textile industries and others? The economy after all is the basis for a nation's strength, including its military strength.

There is talk of using trade to build "bridges" to the bloc. Can there be any doubt that trade bridges would essentially be one-way, allowing the Communists to buy selectively from us what they feel they need to further their goal of world domination?

The Executive Council of the AFL-CIO in a statement March 1, 1965, summarized very well the case against indiscriminate enlargement of East-West trade. The council said, in part:

> "All Moscow wants to get from expanded commercial and financial relations with our country and the other democracies is help for overcoming its serious economic difficulties, help to enable it to give its people some badly needed consumers' goods while it continues to build up its nuclear weapons arsenal, help to continue its program of economic and political subversion of the developing countries. Such help by American and other business interests can only finance and facilitate further Soviet aggression against the democracies."

It is vitally important that the Congress act now before the problem gets out of hand. The need for a House Select Committee on Export Control to look into the entire problem of trade with the Red bloc has never been greater.

I have introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution, H. Res. 43, calling for the creation of such a committee and certainly hope that the House will soon approve the resolution so that this important work can get underway.

□ □ □

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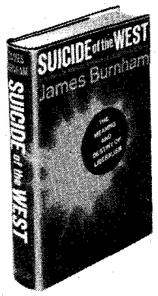

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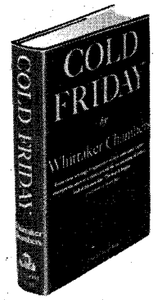

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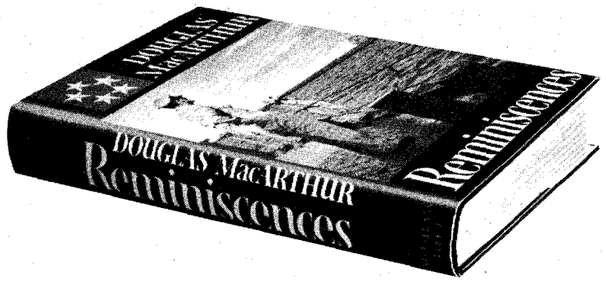

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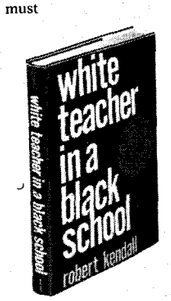

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